

**INSIDE: An exclusive report on the Liberals' advertising secrets**

# Maclean's

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

\$7.25

## The New Quest for a United Germany

How both  
Germanys defy  
the superpowers

East German leader  
Erich Honecker's  
historic visit

The trade in cash  
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

ALGUEFF 21, 1994 VOL. 97 NO. 35

## COVER

### The quest for unity

Recent trade and humanitarian agreements between East and West Germany promise to open a new era of co-operation between Bonn and East Berlin. However, both the Soviet Union and the United States are concerned that the developing German identity may lead to the weakening of their respective military alliances in Europe. —Page 28

COVER PHOTO BY GREGORY HEYER FOR MACLEAN'S



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### A Republican love affair

Despite an embarrassing gift by Ronald Reagan, Republicans prepared to stage a spectacular convention in Dallas focused on the president. —Page 39



### A big deal for a railway

Three years ago the owner of a rail line between Windsor and Niagara Falls, Ont., was advised to improve or sell the tracks. But now three groups want to buy it. —Page 29



### Liberal advertising secrets

A cache of private campaign documents discloses an internal Liberal party struggle for control of a \$18-million fund to pay for election advertising. —Page 10



### The new Derek debate

Moviemakers will be the final arbiters of how much of So Derek is too much when his new movie, *Beavis*, is released in North America at the end of August. —Page 48



## Unequal equity

I read with interest "The Liberals and the Mackenzie family" (Cover, Aug. 6). In 1979 Pierre Trudeau appointed Bryce Mackenzie chairman of Air Canada. I came from your article "Bills, Mackenzie is drawing a yearly pension of \$80,000 from the surplus for his brief tenure, in addition to his \$60,000 yearly pension as a former." It is interesting to compare that pension provision to Mackenzie with what is available to a farmer who is spreading retirement. Before the infamous Allan Rock case budget of November, 1980, Revenue Canada permitted a farmer retiring from livestock production to use the proceeds from the sale of his land to purchase an income averaging annuity contract (IAC) or, simply put, to purchase a pension for his retirement years. In November, 1981, Mackenzie announced that farmers would no longer purchase IACs, as there is now no provision for a livestock producer to convert his livestock equity into any form of retirement pension. Mackenzie served as Air Canada's chairman for five months and is given a yearly pension of \$5,000. I have produced beef for Canadians for 35 years and I was denied the right to buy a pension, with my own money, for my retirement. This is a good example of the "Just Society." It is just for those who are in the inner circle — i.e. harvest. *Lafayette, Ark.*

## A tribute to black America

In spite of all your recent coverage of the Olympic Games, it is not ironic that no



Mackenzie: no provision for pension

mention has been made of the fact that in excess of 20 per cent of the Olympic medals that the United States won went to black athletes whose people represent only 12 per cent of the U.S. population ("Gold in the sun," Cover, Aug. 13). Just a few years ago those people or their parents could not drink at the same water fountains as whites, could not sleep in the same hotels as whites or eat in the same restaurants as whites. Segregation was imposed on them in movie theatres, at schools, on the buses and even in the army. The litany of injustices in the appalling story of degradation still looms large. Insisted by such spurious segregation for so many decades, American blacks now are bringing their own appliances and chairs — "U.S.A." as they meant the problem to be solved and honored, at least during the "gold rush." One more medal should be awarded collectively to the blacks of America as a tribute to a people who have prevailed in spite of insurmountable odds, who have overcome oppression, wasted resources and inequities and have gone on to the many hard-earned and well-deserved triumphs in Los Angeles. *—SALLY HERTZ, Victoria*

## Praying the pipers

In the supposed absence of a dominant election issue, you cite longer as a major factor ("The debate about religion," Cover, Aug. 6). Have we not had our fill from the last Prime Minister, who was not religiously an atheist? Perhaps you do not see an election issue, but I do. Who is going to pay for our deficit and the nation's recovery? The people who can least afford it, or those who have their savings melted away in bonds or banks? *—STEPHEN J. WHEELER, Laredo, Sask.*

## Supplies and demand

DEED: British novelist, playwright and essayist J.R. (John Bernard) Priestley, 89, in Stratford-on-Avon. Often referred to as "an English man of letters," Priestley produced 131 books and plays since his first novel, *Adam in the Moonlight*, appeared in 1907. His first major success was *The Good Companions* (1929), which he and Edward Knott took turned into a stage version in 1931. Soon after, Priestley began to write plays and even formed his own production company in London. His later stage successes include *Dangerous Corner*, *Lobsterman Over*, *When We Were Married* and *An Inspector Calls*. Priestley was also an outspoken broadcaster and commentator.

DEED: Legendary jazz guitarist Leroy Brown, 65, whose virtuosity earned him a national and international reputation in Los Angeles, where his body was found in an apartment building swimming pool. Born in Miami and raised in the Maritime and Winnipeg, Brown worked extensively in Canada in a career tragically ended by his intense alcohol addiction to drink and alcohol. The son of country musician Bill (Lone Pine) Brown and Betty Gault, Brown taught himself to play guitar and developed an eclectic style which he attributed to his fascination with the piano. An innovative player and composer, Brown recorded several albums under his own name and others with artists Beverly Glenn-Copehead, Chet Atkins, Don Franklin, Ike Koffman and Anne Murray. Brown formed several trios over the years but maintained a somewhat exclusive that precluded financial success.

DEED: Alfred Knopf, 92, cosmopolitan publisher of more than 500 titles, including books by André Gide, Joseph Conrad, Willa Cather, T.S. Eliot, Somerset Maugham, Dashiell Hammett and John Updike, at his home in Parkville, N.Y. Described by H.L. Mencken as the "perfect publisher," Knopf founded his company in 1915 and set high standards for editorial content and production quality. With Mencken, Knopf also published a monthly literary magazine, *The American Mercury*, from 1924 to 1934.

DEED: Cartoonist Virgil Partch, 67, once described as a "creator of inspired humor," in an automobile accident along with his wife, Helen, near Los Angeles. Born in Alaska, Partch first worked at Walt Disney studios before moving into print with a drawing published by Calaveras in 1942. His cartoons, signed V.P., appeared in *The New Yorker*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Look*, *Time* and *Newsweek*, among others. Including *How Pharo* on the *Barrow Floor*, *Water on the Moon* and *V.P.'s Quiz*.

## Supply and demand

I was amazed with "Fighting computer pirates" (Business/Economy, July 20). It appears that these business people have lost sight of a basic tenet: the higher the price the fewer you sell. Instead of spending money on fancy packaging, copy protection systems and legal wrangling, software companies would be better advised to lower the cost of their products. Do these companies really expect people not to copy a \$100 Lotus 1-2-3 program in which it can be done easily and with impunity, especially when the quality and ethics of the matter fall into a grey area? Indeed, they may be cutting their own throats because their attempts at software hoarding and firmware policing reduce the standardization that the industry desperately needs in order to catch on with the public.

—MICHAEL S. GORDON, Saskatoon

## Extinguishing the problem

Someone should tell Transport Minister Lloyd Axworthy that there is a more effective and less costly way of reducing the problem of aircraft fire ("The legacy of disaster," Aviation, July 20). The solution: prohibit smoking while onboard.

—DONALD G. GIBSON, Ottawa

## Dare to be dull

I could not agree with Charles Gordon more ("Who and Canadians were dull," Cover, July 20). The morning after receiving *Weekend* I awoke to the news of the McDonald's massacre in California, only to see ever increasing US press coverage. If being a dull Canadian means enjoying a hamburger or a leisurely stroll without looking over one's shoulder, then I'd think you to be dull. I leave much of the responsibility for changing these attitudes of self-regret to the media. The media are one of the greatest influences on our feelings of national unity. Let us learn to be ourselves for what we are.

—DONALD BLANKEN, Toronto

I loved Charles Gordon's column "Who said Canadians were dull?" We live in a nice country with nice people. It is unfortunate that our critics forget that nice is so much easier, useful and comfortable to live with than aggressive, loud and garish. As a Canadian, I'll be so pretty much the way we are.

—EVELYN MCCLACHLIN, Beaconsfield, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers wishing to appear in our columns should send their letters to the Editor, *Weekend*'s magazine, 5000 Highway 104, 777 Box St., Toronto, Ont. M2H 1A7.



"Peter," I said, "How come your hair looks so healthy?" "Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo," he replied to my amazement.



1. Me: Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo. Just that just for problem dandruff?

Peter: If you want healthy looking hair — you have to start by getting hair and scalp really clean.



3. Peter: Right. And Tegrin also helps control that itchy scalp that used to annoy me.

Me: Again, it shows Tegrin gets your scalp really clean.



2. Peter: When I shower I use 'Rigla regularly to do a thorough cleaning job. Me: And your clean, healthy-looking hair is proof that Tegrin helps control dandruff.



4. Me: I'm going to give Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo a try myself.

Peter: You should try the herbal one. Works just as hard as regular Rigla to get your hair and scalp really clean.

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## The great persuader

**A**t 77, Melvin M. Bell, the San Francisco lawyer who turned personal injury law into an art form in the late 1960s, is a busier scheduler than ever. He is currently representing 12,000 alleged "pirates" of cable TV signals, he is the host of a new television game show, and he is trying to convince the World Court in Geneva to hear his \$300-million suit

against the Soviet Union and Korean Air Lines on behalf of relatives of 268 of the downed KAL 007's victims. When time permits, Bell helps his fifth wife campaign for political office. Clearly, Bell does not make any concessions to his age. Said the lawyer: "During the past 18 months I have won 16 cases worth \$1 million or more."

Bell's client list has included actress

Mae West, Martha Mitchell, the wife of former U.S. attorney general John Mitchell, assistant to Lee Harvey Oswald, Jack Ruby, comedian Leary Brown and Eric Plonzo, Graceland's Mar-a-Lagee Canadian companion. Recently, an ironic series of unlawful dismissal suits has swelled Bell's caseload—accidents against him by lawyers who used to work for his firm. Bell, in turn, is countervailing, accusing them of causing, slandering and incompetence. In one case Vasilios M. Choulas, a Bell partner of 28 years, said Bell looked him out of his office. Another former staff member contends that Bell casts all employees as easily as he does wins. For his part, Bell accused the former employees of being ungrateful, but added, "I would be the first to admit that it is hard to work for a genius."

Bell's wife of 42 years, Lila Triff, 51, is now a Democratic senatorial candidate for the California state legislature. But Bell says that he guided, not to enter politics "the day I met Richard Nixon." Even if elected, he would likely be too busy to serve. He has published eight books, the latest, *The Bell Plan: Reflections on the Wagered Lane*, last year. He is the host of *Guilty or Innocent*, a new syndicated TV game show-drama with contestants serving as jurors during the re-enactment of courtroom trials. More than 56 of the 100 cases originally involved Bell. Three of his most famous: •A Bell suit against the San Francisco Giants baseball team in 1962 to recover the cost of his own season ticket. The team had promised—and did not install—overhead heaters in the stadium. One of Bell's witnesses, a child-weather-dressing expert, testified while wearing a parka. Bell won. •A case in which Bell's client said her plastic surgeon, claiming that he had sewed her nipples on crooked. Bell had his eye at strop to the water and face the jury. She cried, he won. •A case early in his career in which Bell defended a San Quentin inmate accused of slugging another inmate to death. Attempting to prove that the victim had threatened him client with a knife, Bell subpoenaed all the inmates confined in the prison. While he displayed them to the jury, he stumbled, and the knives fell, almost into the jurors' laps. Bell picked them up slowly—and won.

Bell's age does not deter him from his pursuit of publicity-making, regardless of litigation. When he wins a major case he ritualistically flies the Jolly Roger flag over his office while an employee fires a cannon. Still, other sounds are more appealing to the eccentric lawyer, who favors purple cowboy boots. Declared Bell: "I seek the sort of verdict when you can hear the angels sing and the register ring." —HERBERT MICHELSON  
IN SAN FRANCISCO

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# Taking the UN to task

Jeane Kirkpatrick, 37, the United States' outgoing ambassador to the United Nations, told President Ronald Reagan in June that she will not serve a second term. While at the UN, Kirkpatrick has drawn criticism for being one of the leading advocates of the Reagan administration's controversial Central American policy and for her belief that right-wing, "moderately repressive" dictatorships are preferable to Marxist regimes. Maclean's correspondent Gregory Winnick talked with Kirkpatrick at her office in New York.

**Maclean's:** Have you seen any improvement at the United Nations since you

refused involvement by way of blue membership?

**Maclean's:** You have supported many of the initiatives of Secretary-General Pérez de Cuellar. Yet during his two-year tenure he has apparently done very little of consequence.

**Kirkpatrick:** There has been a good deal less negative activity. In the effort to achieve peace he is frustrated, as the Security Council is outvoted, with a lot of conflicts which seem to be more intractable than anybody wishes they were, in part because they are based on the very deeply held ambitions of nations.

**Maclean's:** How do you see future rela-



Kirkpatrick: 'The effects of superpower conflict are more successfully contained'

tions between the United States and Nicaragua?

**Kirkpatrick:** There have been some changes, some of which could be counted as improvements. In 1979-1980 the percentage of decisions taken by consensus in the Security Council was only slightly more than 40 per cent. In 1982 that number was well over 70 per cent. In addition, one could even say that the effects of superpower conflict on the Security Council have been more successfully contained. Now, much less of the council's time is consumed by ritualized demonstrations than was the case three years ago. There, more than half the time was spent on various kinds of denunciations against Israel. That kind of rhetoric rendered the council more bitter, more divisive, more difficult to solve. As well, there is now a less

friction between the United States and Nicaragua?

**Kirkpatrick:** I think it is appropriate that we have always had a two-, three- or four-track policy. I am personally a great believer in multiple initiatives to establish good relations with the Nicaraguan government on the grounds of mutual respect and mutual respect. We have tried a lot of different things. Our goals have been absolutely consistent and unchanged, and I think they are consistent with the goals of the previous administration. They are, first, to persuade Nicaragua's Sandinista government to cease the destabilization of its neighbors and, second, to ensure the regression of its own people and provide the kind of democratic institutions that the Sandinistas provided in 1979 after

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they overthrow the government of Gen. Anastasio Somoza. I never had any role in the establishment of the 'contra', nor have I ever known anything much about the plans for the contra. I support the contra—mostly disaffected Nicaraguans, Indians and former opponents of Somoza who feel betrayed by the Marxist-Leninist course of the Sandinista revolution—but I have never had any policy role in relation to them.

**Maclean's:** Have you been more optimistic about El Salvador's future since José Napoleón Duarte became president in June?

**Kirkpatrick:** I think things are going very well. I have a very high regard for President Duarte, whom I have known since the beginning of 1979 and whom I regard as a decent man with a small 'd'. He is a man of conviction and ability who, now that he is the elected president, can provide the kind of strong leadership that has been fundamentally lacking.

**Maclean's:** Walter Mondale has said that the bipartisan consensus that the Kissinger commission on Central America sought has not materialized. If Mondale wins the election, what changes would he make in the Central American policy of the United States?

**Kirkpatrick:** One of Mondale's principal supporters, Lawrence Kirkland, the head of the AFL-CIO labor organization, was a very active member of the Kissinger commission and he fully subscribed to all of its recommendations. Robert Strauss, a former chairman of the Democratic party, who was another active supporter of Mondale, was also a member of the commission, as was Henry Cisneros, the mayor of San Antonio, Tex., whom Mondale's secretary endorsed for his non-prejudicial services. So you must take these facts into account when you think of the bipartisan consensus on Mondale.

**Maclean's:** So a Mondale administration might carry on with the Reagan administration's Central American policies?

**Kirkpatrick:** I did not say that. We will wait and see.

**Maclean's:** Several senior Reagan administration officials were reportedly recipients of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau's peace initiatives. Was that the prevailing attitude within the administration and did you share it?

**Kirkpatrick:** I never heard anyone comment on it, frankly. That is not a diplomatic answer, that is the truth. I was not present in discussions on it and I do not know.

**Maclean's:** What are your plans now?

**Kirkpatrick:** I am not prepared to comment about possibilities except to say that I have always enjoyed the academic life and my relationship with Washington's Georgetown University, where I have a chair. A return there would be a genuine pleasure.

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## The truth about Miss America

By Fred Bruning

IF U.S. media critics, *People* magazine not generally considered an exemplar of current events, are in publisher Bob Guccione often varied among the industry's foremost news boards—those volatile types who will persevere, and not, a good story at all costs. On the contrary, the magazine and its readers are to endorse journalism as a cult of credible writing, but not the so-called glass doors and nation, exotic, heretical, enticing perhaps, but not to be taken seriously. Strictly a sideshow.

Nevertheless, Guccione will have you know he can recognize a scoop as quickly as the next guy—and, in fact, did so earlier this year when approached by Tom Chittip, a freelance photographer of no particular reputation. The press struck by the two young women in Chittip's pictures hardly were noteworthy given the nature of such work—let us say the model is not theirs their ageological procedures at any accredited institution—but the face of one performer (for those paying strict attention) was strikingly, astonishingly, impressively familiar. It followed, quite naturally, that the glasses were astounding too.

Available to *People* was an array of portraits featuring Vanessa Williams, a fair 19 years old when the dreaded shooter was snapped. Not just any young woman, Williams would have caused a stir had she only been shown kicking her skirt above the knee. Chittip's collection went well beyond show-cake, however, in that there were no skirts, no garter belts, no black stockings, braisiers or merry-widow corsets—no nothing. Inevitable as it may seem, the obscure cameraman was peddling nude, sexually explicit photographs of Miss America, 1986.

Of course, of course, behaving as would any right-thinking member of the press, grabbed the pictures and resented what has been described only as a snail's fee. It seemed perfectly clear, Guccione said later, that he had no choice but to purchase such provocative material and, subsequently, print the photos in his September issue. His editorial staff had certain appetites and he would not disappoint. Readers, in turn, demonstrated their zeal by furiously ripping the volume from the racks of local vendors. When it came time to judge the Pulitzer Prize for public service, Guccione is sure to be rewarded. Above before the magazine hit the

stands, Miss America officials took emergency action. Meeting at pageant headquarters in Atlantic City, the executive board agreed that Vanessa Williams had gone much too far—that she had compromised her reputation and tainted the hallowed name of the contest, too. All they could do, board members said, was ask Williams to return her title. In all splendid years, nothing like that had happened. On television, pageant officials begged members, please, don't watch Miss America going nude! With another woman! In *People*! Where had they gone wrong and what would happen next?

Next came Vanessa Williams, the one and only New Tex. Williams said she consented to the pictures when she was a naive college student working in Chittip's office—long before she ever dreamed of becoming Miss America. The photographer had assured her that all shots would be in silhouette and as

*'Does it now become necessary for all Miss America contestants to have been shubertly since their puberty?'*

one but he would see the network, Williams said. Besides, she claimed not have signed a release allowing sale of the material. (*People* insists the document was \$10) and was "surprised and deeply hurt" because pageant officials failed to consult her before demanding her resignation. But, wounded or not, Williams promised to depart without a scene.

Of questionable relevance here is the matter of Williams' race. She was the first black to win the Miss America title and perhaps for that reason gained special notoriety as she traversed the country, shopping centre to shopping centre. Some Americans thought it was nothing less than revolutionary when Williams took the crown, a giddy view of history, to say the least. But it may be true that in communicating that a black contestant can endure a year of school in and out of doors as dutifully as any white predecessor, Vanessa Williams attained for minority contestants some measure of parity previously denied. In that regard, nothing has been lost by her abdication. Surprisingly, the runner-up in last year's contest and

the woman asked to replace Williams, also a black.

Racial progress never has been much of a concern to the Miss America organization, in any case. The "pageant" remains an elaborate bedding with contest and auxiliary events providing to showcase talent and reveal personality are irrelevant at best. Endless is the array of top-dressing, sponge-bathing, ransoming beauties who also come to the pageant, three days of strenuous beauty tactics something useful. Usually, the results are disappointing.

On the rare occasion when a contestant fails to celebrate nation, family and moral decency, a tremor passes below the sandy terrain of south Jersey. Any remark indicating that a young woman has not been shocked since puberty—that, say, she is an occasional user of recreational drugs or has a peep of view on the abortion issue inconsistent with that of Pope John Paul II—narrates a naughty conversation. Profitably, when word leaked that pose Vanessa Williams had shed her clothes, the pageant's early-warning system clicked. This was not just some second-rate hopeful musing about matrimony. This was a reigning Miss America, caught in *Jaguar's* deluge.

Of course, Vanessa Williams was dumb to do what she did. A photographer came to you and says, hey honey, I've got this swell idea for a few "nude" shots, just take off your clothes, if you don't mind, and put your hand here. If a photographer makes such a proposition, it would seem one might respond with a simple "no thanks" and perhaps a left hook to the jaw. Williams made things worse by not informing contest promoters about the nature of her modeling career and it was less than ingenious to claim later that she was young and didn't know better.

Probably the fellows in Atlantic City were right to take away Williams' title. There are certain illnesses that must be monitored if the pageant is to continue. Among the most important is that one in a country of one-piece bathing suits, corner nail shops and jukeboxes that play only *U. Debra*. Already having made the acquaintance of Tom Chittip, Williams knew differently. Instead of revering for Miss America, she would have been better off watching the contest on television, recalling the experience of an impatient youth and allowing herself a very large laugh.

Fred Bruning is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.



# The controversy at Red Leaf

By Carol Goar and Mary Janigan

Even among senior Liberals, Red Leaf Communications is a mysterious organization that appears whenever an election is called, then slips from sight when the campaign is over. For the past 10 years the party's advertising company has been a mysterious, unexplained control over the Liberals' English-language advertising strategy. And since its creation, Senator Keith Dewey, who recently took control of John Turner's election strategy, has been the chairman of the agency, with Senator Jerry Grafstein, a lawyer, serving as Red Leaf president. But last month William Lee—the man Dewey replaced—raised troubling questions about the way Red Leaf operated, unaccountably challenging Red Leaf's monopoly on Liberal advertising for the first time in a decade.

Moskoff's has obtained a series of private campaign documents that sheds new light on how Red Leaf operates and on how Lee attempted to change that system. Lee's supporters argue that his confrontation with Grafstein and Dewey was one of the key factors in his downfall. But the new Turner team insists that, since Lee's departure, the campaign is running more smoothly. The documents indicate that Lee repeatedly demanded—and never received—a detailed budget from Red Leaf. They also show that the Prime Minister's communications director, André Massé, contended that Red Leaf had not accounted for \$300,000 in its \$2.6-million budget estimate. Liberal funds, not public money, still, taxpayers have a stake in political advertising spending. Under a new series of the Canada Elections Act the parties will receive a 25.5-per-cent rebate from the federal government on election advertising expenses. The Liberal share will be \$600,000.

In a confidential memo to Lee last month, Massé wrote: "Red Leaf keeps coming in as the maverick concerning their action plan." He added "It is unclear to me that Senator Grafstein wishes to do anything as he has in the past four elections and that he has little time for any political questions—and more if he is not supported right now, I am firmly convinced that he will get away with this again and that, again, the Liberal campaign will not get off its money." But from the time he took over, Dewey claimed the money raised by the

memo "if the question is one of money's worth, I am more than satisfied that Red Leaf has performed," he told Moskoff's last week, adding that he was too busy to look at the memo. Dewey also insisted that Red Leaf would be able to account for every dollar it spent. "If there is some question of financial integrity, I would stake my life on Red Leaf," he declared.



Grafstein: little time for production questions.

The agency in question has no direct Conservative or New Democratic Party counterpart. Only the Liberals use an umbrella organization, with about 108 employees drawn from three large Toronto advertising firms: Vickers & Benson Advertising Ltd., Maclean Advertising, and Rossignol-Reynolds & Company Limited. The firms three-

selves have no direct relationship with Red Leaf. In addition, until Red Leaf from its Toronto law office and behind a simple hiring policy: Red Leaf employees, who continue to work in their agency offices, have to be "absolutely the best creative people—and committed Liberals."

For their part, the Conservatives, who expect to spend about \$3 million in the campaign, also rely on three Toronto agencies: Ruston Advertising Ltd., Mayhew Advertising Limited and Media Buying Services Limited. Ruston coordinates the coordinated effort. And the New Democrats, who have hired the small Vancouver firm Michael Morgan and Associates, will spend \$1.4 million.

Lee's troubles with Red Leaf began shortly after Turner called the election on July 9. As national campaign director—the man who would ultimately approve all the bills—Lee ordered the agency to give him a detailed budget and suggested that the party should consider seeking competitive bids and ask agencies from the Maritimes and Western Canada to join the consortium. "The West is opposed to the Toronto view of the world," said Lee Liberal.

The request for a budget opened a three-week struggle between Lee and his party's ad agency—a fight that ended with Lee leaving the Turner campaign. In mid-July Red Leaf responded when Michael Kusko, who is the president of Vickers & Benson Advertising Ltd., sent Lee an estimate showing how the party's \$2.6 million would be spent. Lee found the explanation unacceptable. In a July 30 telegram to Grafstein he called Kusko's figures "totally unacceptable," and gave Red Leaf 34 hours to provide answers to 35 questions, ranging from the details of television ads to provisions to Red Leaf's administrative costs.

Red Leaf delivered its next set of estimates—a 26-page package—by the required deadline of 6 p.m. the next day and Lee called in Massé for expert advice. Massé, former vice-president in Montreal of Houston Group Communications Limited, a large public relations

firm, examined the documents and concluded several top Red Leaf executives believe they are entitled to Lee. He made the following observations in a July 28 memo: "The \$2.6 million, \$500,000 appeared to be unaccounted for in the funds allocated for television, radio and print advertising. Massé warned Lee that Grafstein 'is likely to tell you that this money is spread all over the place for contingency's'."

•No one had told provincial campaign officials how much advertising money was meant for their regions.

•The 108 members of Red Leaf expected to get \$300,000 for their work, while members of the Liberal party's French-language advertising group, La Ma-

working on," Massé wrote.

Massé urged Lee to appoint a special commission to oversee the Red Leaf budget, recommending that the campaign director choose someone outside Red Leaf. "For obvious reasons," he added, "Remember that Grafstein knows that we know that there is something going on in there." Massé told Lee to be firm: unless Red Leaf followed his orders, there would be no money. "Provide Red Leaf with a clear set of instructions," he wrote. "If you do not do that, I am afraid that the senator will claim again that you have no strategy and that, in the meantime, he has to go on a variety of directions." He concluded, "I am beginning to think that they [provin-

ciates in the three federal elections fought since Red Leaf's creation. Sen. Dewey: "And I give Red Leaf and Senator Grafstein a great deal of the credit." As for money that did not appear to be allocated to specific ad campaigns, Dewey said funds were needed for late-campaign changes. "We are in a situation right now with money we have not spent in the ad campaign," he added. He said that he and other Red Leaf principals are still weighing the usefulness of newspaper advertising, considering magazine ads and contemplating "buying up" partisan Liberal messages in ridings where the race is close. Dewey said: "To suggest that [the controversy] is some kind of money-flooting



Chairman from left: Massé, a party director Sandra Severn, Lee, Gordon Knapik, a Liberal communications director for control.

chise Rouge, would work without pay. There were no cost estimates for many of the ads. The agency was not for setting the ads up; have to come out of a separate budget.

•Red Leaf's production costs were, Massé wrote, "outrageously overestimated to the point of ridicule—this is even worse than the Canadian Sports Pool"—a reference to a money-losing federal betting pool for which MacLean Advertising did the ad campaign.

•The ad agency said that it was developing 117 television spots, better 50 and producing 30—a "ridiculously high number."

•Red Leaf cannot or will not tell me or tell you what are the five, eight or 10 main messages they are

national campaign co-chairman) should also be in the know, and if we really want to protect our own name, even the PM for himself."

For his part, Grafstein denied that he had ignored Lee's wishes. He told Moskoff's that he had understood his role to include recommending choices that the national director could accept or reject. As for the \$300,000 that Massé could not put down in the budget for media ads, Grafstein said that it was in fact a contingency fund. Declared the senator: "We prepare a number of alternative strategies. You want to be ready for any contingency."

Dewey rejected several of Massé's criticisms. He pointed out that the Liberals had won two majority govern-

ments in 1980 and 1984. He added that Red Leaf will submit audited statements to the party, as usual.

Still, Moskoff's obtained the Red Leaf estimates and the Massé memo to a senior advertising executive, who requested anonymity "because this is a small company." His finding: a \$200,000 allocation for media production was extremely high. "For a hundred crowd, you could hire Orson Welles and the big bands," he said. At the same time, he noted that Red Leaf's cost estimates for television production did not include the normal stemmed breakdown, such as talent costs. The advertising executive also said that he found it strange that Red Leaf's three-member account staff was getting \$1,200 a



Turner, Jean Chrétien: O'Sullivan: Lee moved the anxiety of the party's old guard

day—four times as much as the creative staff—and he said he was surprised by Red Leaf's cavalier attitude toward Lee. "He is paying the bill and he does not know what they're doing," he said. Lee studied Maclean's suggestions and then asked friend Murray Korman, a Toronto lawyer and accountant, to examine Red Leaf's estimates. Korman refused to give Maclean's details of that investigation, but party insiders said that Korman met Maclean and Korman before handing Lee his report.

Early in August, with the Turner campaign in full swing and Davy returning officially to Ontario manure in the fight for crucial Ontario ridings, Lee persuaded Turner with an ultimatum: he demanded complete control of the campaign if he was to continue in his job (Maclean's Aug. 13). Turner refused, and on Aug. 4 he accepted Lee's resignation as the Prime Minister's summer residence in Elbow River, Alberta. As the two men discussed the troubled campaign, Lee told Turner that, as director, he had incurred the enmity of the party's old guard by probing Red Leaf's affairs. Turner said nothing.

Clearly, the issue has more significance than a hidden power struggle in Liberal campaign book rooms. Advertising is the largest single expense for all three major parties. For the Tories and New Democrats it accounts for close to 50 per cent of campaign spending, with the Liberals not far behind, with 45 per cent. And with the new election act debates, in addition to the Liberals' \$600,000, taxpayers will pay the Tories \$600,000 and the NDP \$225,000.

For the advertising agencies, however, the partisan election messages may lead to future profits if their side wins. Last year the federal government, by far

the largest single advertiser in the country, spent \$62 million providing Canadians with messages paid for out of their taxes. The process is simple and not regulated: whenever a federal department wants to hire an ad agency, the minister responsible takes the request to a cabinet committee. Since Turner took over in early July, Secretary of State Boris Japhet has handled those matters, with advice from an advertising management group of three private advertising consultants on contract to the federal government. (The Toronto Star reported on Saturday that a 18-month contract for federal government advertising will be awarded before the

Mrs. Brian Mulroney: the public has a stake in political advertising spending



election to Canadian Media Corp., owned by Vickers & Benson, Ronalds-Reynolds and RCP Advertising Limited of Montreal.) One of those in-house experts, Peter Barry, told Maclean's last week that he has a list of 26 agencies that serve the government, adding that Vickers & Benson, MacLaren and Ronalds-Reynolds got a good deal of advertising contracts.

Vickers & Benson and Ronalds-Reynolds handle English-language advertising in the lucrative United States market for the federal tourism department, the biggest spender of federal advertising dollars (yearly budget: \$15 million). Other large advertisers include the department of employment and immigration, which takes most of its \$7-million business in MacLaren, and the ministry of health and welfare, which makes wide use of Ronalds-Reynolds.

Crown corporations may choose their own advertisers, but government guidelines "encourage" them to seek the advice of Barry's group. Air Canada uses mainly Ronalds-Reynolds for its advertising needs; Canadian National sends business to MacLaren and Vickers & Benson; and Via Rail sends MacLaren. Barry acknowledged that the system would change radically if the Conservatives won the Sept. 4 election. "If we have new bosses, we'll go out," he said, referring to the advertising management firm. "The PCs would undoubtedly have their own people." That could mean that only the players are shifted, while the process remains unchanged, because the federal government has no clear guidelines for choosing an advertising firm—although some senior Liberals believe it should.



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Debate panelists: Brenda Rowan, Roy Sigurdsson, Patricia Gosselin and Brenda Rowan laughing and joking

## 'Why should we trust you now?'

By Mark Nichols

I made for less than riveting television, and Boris Anderson, the former *Chablis* editor and author, thought that Prime Minister John Turner came across like "a jerk at a tea party." Even so, Turner's performance in last week's televised debate on women's issues may have given the Liberal leader a badly needed boost in his poll battle with Conservative leader Brian Mulroney in the campaign for the Sept. 4 federal election. But a Gallup poll, taken Aug. 19 to 19th and released last week, indicated that the Tories were now the choice of the fewer than 46 per cent of those polled, while only 32 per cent backed the Liberals. And an impressive 38 per cent supported the NDP.

In the debate, the New Democrat's Richard Braddock was widely gaped by his handling of the issue. But in his response to the most fundamental issue raised by the panel of women who guided the leaders—"Why should we trust you now?"—Turner's appearance of awkward sincerity seemed to give him the edge. Campaigning in Braddock's Ottawa riding the next day, Turner tried to underline the point. Said he "This election is about trust. I've got lots of faults, lots of weaknesses. But I believe I can be honest."

If the debate enabled Turner to look credible on women's issues, that could help to repair the damage done by the

Liberal leader's weak performance in recent weeks. And it was a promising television debate in July when the three leaders addressed general campaign issues. A Gallup poll taken after those debates, also released last week, indicated that Mulroney has narrowed the gap among voters asked to state which man would make the last prime minister. Turner was boosted by 53 per cent (compared to 30 per cent in June), while Mulroney stood at 39 per cent (32) and Braddock at 15 per cent (10).

Yet even so he sought to shift the campaign emphasis toward credibility and away from competence—the sort which he has suffered because of serious and fatal errors—Turner was not alone taking liberties with history. During the debate and in speeches the next day, Turner cited a 1983 Conservative party questionnaire which he claimed showed that "78 per cent of Tories are against affirmative action for women." In fact, the Tories surveyed at a party conference had rejected proposals for mandatory affirmative action that would force employers to hire and promote women—a position that Turner himself redrafted last week.

The debate on women's issues—marked by network sound problems—came in a week in which the momentum of the campaign seemed to slow perceptibly. For his part, Turner began the week by rejecting growing pressure from some key members of the Liberal

party to decline Canada's support for a world freeze on nuclear arms production—and then went on to reveal that he has been pursuing the peace initiative hawked by his predecessor, Pierre Trudeau, by writing to world leaders, including Soviet Communist Party leader Konstantin Chernenko.

Earlier, when party president Iona Gosselin, Strategic Minister Lloyd Axworthy and other party luminaries came out in favor of the freeze, there was speculation that the way was being prepared for Turner to announce that Canada would adopt that policy. But after talks with dissenting Liberals and with officials of the external affairs department—which tends to oppose unilateral initiatives by Canada that might offend its allies—Turner released a statement that Canada could not adopt such a position without denigrating the Western alliance. "We cannot, in effect," declared Turner, "simply goit alone and walk away from NATO allies." Canada, he added, has been helping to develop the technology needed to master the growth of nuclear weapons, but its greatest contribution would be to "continue to press within our alliance and in contacts with members of the opposing alliance for more discussion, less ideology and real progress in reducing the threat to us all."

By coincidence, Turner's rejection of a proposal with vote-winning potential was partially offset when aides to Uni-

ted Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar revealed in New York that Turner had written to the 180-member to emit his aid in continuing Trudeau's attempt to bring about a summit conference of the major nuclear powers. Later in Winnipeg, Turner—who at one point had to make himself heard over the chanting of peace protesters—revealed that he had written to Chernenko to pledge Canada's commitment to world peace. He noted as well that he hopes to meet soon with President Ronald Reagan to discuss various subjects, including nuclear disarmament. Turner also announced that 78-year-old George Ignatieff, chancellor of the University of Toronto and a former Canadian ambassador to the U.S., would succeed Allan Rock as Canada's ambassador-at-large and adviser to the government on disarmament.

Braddock campaigned in Windsor and St. Catharines, Ont., promising a minimum income tax for Canadians earning over \$50,000 a year and increased Canadian content in foreign cars. Mulroney visited Toronto to address Young Conservatives, which he managed to do before onetime storm clouds erupted. Later, campaigning in the traditionally Liberal Quebec stronghold of St-Jean, he told 3,000 people—the largest crowd gathered by any party in the province so far in the campaign—that he would end federal-governed squabbling and co-operate with the duly-elected government of Quebec to try to end unemployment, especially among young people. Mulroney's words won the approval of Quebec's Parti Québécois Premier René Lévesque, who noted that Mulroney's speech should serve as a guideline for all federal politicians.

In the debate on women's issues, all three leaders pledged to take steps to remove the economic and social inequalities facing women, but Braddock was most precise for his articulate grasp of the issues. But of the two leaders who have a chance of securing the next premiership, Turner seemed to make more detailed promises to women and by attaching dollar figures to some of them. He promised \$5.5 billion next year to help women who want to take training courses and he suggested increasing the maximum deduction for child care to \$12,000 from \$8,000. In his closing statement, Turner also attacked Mulroney directly by noting that during his 30 months in the House of Commons, the Tory leader had asked only 23 questions—less than three of them were about women's concerns.

While Turner frequently took refuge in generalities—promising to make a number of different issues his "top priority" is government—Mulroney did so even more often. There was laughter and a hush from the audience in the

Canadian Room at Toronto's Royal York Hotel when Mulroney proclaimed his sincerity. "There is something about Mulroney, some instinctive, that women just don't trust," said Patricia Kirk, a Toronto women's employment counselor who watched the debate at the Royal York. As Nancy Smith, an Ontario alderman, noted, women watching the debate "seemed to regard Turner with humor, Mulroney with skepticism and Braddock with respect."

While all three leaders promised action in the key areas of pensions for women outside the labor force and in ensuring equal pay for work of equal value—mainly by more rigorous enforcement of existing rules in the federal civil service—Turner earned marks

Turner was opposed from women who want current practices reformed by arguing that provincial governments should ensure that legal abortions are equally available to all women. Declared Judy Rebekoff of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics, "Turner is the first Prime Minister to promise equal access to abortion across the country."

At another point, Braddock linked Mulroney into a corner on the matter of incentives for women to start small businesses. The Tory leader asked Mulroney pointblank whether he would change the Bank Act to make sure women get equal access to credit. Mulroney—in a chorus of groans and boos from the audience—answered that he would rely on persuasion.



Turner, Braddock and Mulroney: generalities, specifics and sincerity

not only for his assurances, but for his understanding of the issues. All three leaders pledged specific action in the key areas that concern women. Repeating an earlier promise Mulroney said that, if elected, his government would institute provisions for home makers. But Turner stayed unswayed on the proposal, claiming that Mulroney's reform would cost taxpayers as much as \$900 million a year. For his part, Braddock promised to spend \$50 million on shelters for battered women and \$200 million for improved day care services.

In the highly emotional area of abortion, Braddock appeared to go the farthest in advocating increased freedom of choice for women. Mulroney, who is known to oppose changing the current law, was not asked to discuss the issue because of the debate's rigid format. But

If the leaders' messages to women were sometimes vague, the medium was noisy. The four TV networks that jointly broadcast the debate—CBC, Radio-Canada, CTV and Global—were deluged by complaints about the poor quality of the French-English translation and the background noise that sometimes drowned out the speakers.

Though the debate left many women unclear about exactly what legislation Turner and Mulroney would introduce, Chavira Hoon, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, which expressed the issue, was satisfied that it constituted "a large step forward in political terms for the status of women in Canada. I have never seen political leaders so well briefed."

With Susan Elby on the Turner tour, Terry Macpherson on the Mulroney tour and Karen Macleod on the Braddock tour.



Cook (right) a protest ride against the Liberals and the legacy of Pierre Trudeau

## The Liberals' B.C. challenge

By Jane O'Hara

For Michael Hebert, 28, of Surrey, B.C., Sept. 4 will be a personal milestone, marking the first time that he has voted in a federal election. One year ago Hebert lost a job paying about \$300 a week as a chef at the Shuswap Inn resort on Pender Island, between Vancouver Island and the mainland. He sold his 1992 Toyota Corolla and saw his new \$500 monthly unemployment insurance benefits. Hebert plans to vote for Robert Williams—Conservative candidate in the riding of Fraser Valley West—but not because he expects that doing so will increase his chances of getting a job. Instead, like many British Columbians, Hebert intends to register a protest vote against the Liberals and the legacy of Pierre Trudeau. For Hebert and others, the memory of Trudeau giving a contemptuous single-finger salute to Salishan Arm residents who were protesting high unemployment in August 1982, is still vivid, and that bodes ill for John Turner's attempt to revive the Liberal party in Western Canada—particularly in British Columbia, said Hebert. "We still remember Trudeau's rare trips here. People will take a long time to get over that."

Lingering resentments aside, jobs and the economy are the paramount election issues in British Columbia. The province's lustre has faded as its resource-based economy remains mired in the aftermath of recession. And 202,000

workers are idle, giving it a 14.2-per-cent unemployment rate—second only to Newfoundland's. A province-wide feeling that Ottawa has ignored the West, coupled with the sluggish economy, works against Liberal candidates. Indeed, recent polls suggest that the party is trailing in the province, despite Turner's decision to seek a seat in Vancouver. Equally troubling for the Liberals are local newspaper polls that show Turner and party president Louis Cuyapagallo trailing former Williams Clarke and Chuck Cook in New Westminster and North Vancouver—Burrard ridings respectively.

Recent history has not been on the Liberals' side. Indeed, the party's last major successes in British Columbia were in 1968, during the countryside, naming Joe Trudeau, when the Liberals won 16 B.C. seats. But since then the province has been increasingly barren territory for the Liberals. The party has not held a B.C. seat since 1979, when former Vancouver mayor Art Phillips won Vancouver Centre. He lost it a year later to Gary Pat Carney, who is seeking re-election next month.

Reflecting the left-right political polarization that marks provincial elections, the battle

for British Columbia's 28 federal seats will be largely a two-way fight between the New Democrats and the Tories. The NDP, which now holds 11 seats, must retain its strength in Canada's most urbanized province (45.3 per cent of the provincial work force, compared with 30.6 per cent nationally if it is to avoid losing little more than a minority private party. For their part, the Tories are the New Democrats as their main opposition in British Columbia and predict that they will add at least three seats to the 17 they now hold.

The Tories have been seeking hard since last November, when Opposition Leader Brian Mulroney appointed three Lower Mainland lawyers—Jim Macaulay, Lyall Knott and Jim MacPherson—to run the party's campaign in the province. When Turner called the election on July 8 the Tory trio already had done substantial work: candidates had been nominated in each riding, and about 8,000 volunteers were ready to hammer signs into lawns from Dufino on Vancouver Island to Fernie near the Alberta border.

In North Vancouver—Burrard riding, where Cuyapagallo is running, Tory incumbent Cook opened his campaign office last September. A former broadcaster, Cook claims that he has canvassed a substantial number of voters living in the sprawling middle-class riding that adjoins the Coast Mountains Club, who has held the riding since 1979, appears to have begun with a formidable lead which his unusually narrow rival may not be able to overcome.

But Cuyapagallo is trying. She has already won out three pairs of shoes on the campaign trail, and she makes appearances on local radio and television with such frequency that the Liberals working for other candidates are irritated. Said one Liberal organizer: "It's a good copy, but every time there is a microphone she grabs it." But a high profile alone does not guarantee victory.

In a poll conducted at the beginning of August for the Vancouver Sun by Markview Marketing Research Inc., Cook had 36.2 per cent of the desired vote in the riding, compared to 17.6 per cent for Cuyapagallo and 11.5 per cent for NDP candidate David Schickel. Cook's campaign manager, "Cuyapagallo has been banking in media attention and she has probably not realized that you have to build from the ground up. Her style may also hurt her.

She has been campaigning for less and not for the Liberal party."

In some ridings the Tories have received help from workers with close ties to the Social Credit administration in Victoria. In Kamloops—Shuswap—a riding that spans the rocky valleys of the North Thompson River and dry farmlands of the Interior, and has a 16-per-cent unemployment rate—very famous critic Nelson Res has a strong challenge from Tory candidate Mike Latta, the mayor of Kamloops. Loyce Doug Smith, Latta's longtime campaign manager, became Premier William Bennett's principal secretary just before Latta was his nomination. And Patrick Kinella, the man he replaced in Bennett's office, is in Ottawa as campaign manager. But Latta rejected Joyce Schickel, a full-time Socialist, asked to run his campaign. Declared Schickel: "The machine is a group of people who have a common interest to avoid a certain goal, victory."

The election is unfolding against a gloomy province-wide economic backdrop which colors virtually every three-way race. In Victoria, where tourism usually provides a buffer against hard economic times, the number of visitors to the city has dropped by slightly more than two per cent this year. As well, a one-week strike by bus drivers—the B.C. government announced plans last week to intervene—has hurt the local economy. In Vancouver, where members of the same bus drivers' union have been on strike since June 15, the number of unemployed has more than doubled since 1981 to 132,000.

In the northern ridings of Skeena, Prince George—Peace River and Prince

George—Bulkley Valley, the effects of a shrinking forestry industry are broadly apparent—in some communities almost 17 per cent of the work force is unemployed. In Prince George—Peace River, Tory incumbent Frank Oberle, who is fighting his fifth election, has been campaigning a Tory pledge in May to create a federal forestry ministry if the Conservatives form the next government. In Skeena, where about 30 per cent of the population are natives, the Liberals are hoping that Stuart Chernack, a forest management consultant and a native Indian, will do enough support to defeat NDP incumbent Jim Fulton.

Clearly, Turner and the other Liberal candidates face a difficult task in a province split between the Tories and New Democrats. Opponents, at least, Turner has appeared remarkably composed for a Prime Minister with a latter-day-two-even chance of losing his bid for election to the Commons. On a recent tour that took him from Chasbrook in the southeast corner of British Columbia to his own riding in Vancouver—Turner was relaxed in short-sleeved and casual slacks—and he flinched the trip by dancing to rock music with his wife, Gail, at a Vancouver Centre rally. Liberal strategists hoped that Turner, out of politeness, might appeal to the 20 per cent of the electorate that the NDP trend poll indicated were still undecided. Said Paul Manning, lighting to return Vancouver Centre riding to the Liberals: "There may be some magic finally happening." But for Turner and a slow-moving Liberal campaign it may be too little, too late.

With David Phillips in Prince George and Allan Wolff in Kamloops.

Schickel, Latta in Kamloops: closer ties between the Tories and Social Credit



## Stumping at the tree line

Despite Conservative leader Erik Nielsen's long history in the Yukon in Parliament for an uninterrupted 20 years, but he is still campaigning hard this summer, unwilling to rely on his record to return him to Ottawa. The reason: Nielsen defeated a Liberal opponent by only 105 votes in the Yukon's 1986 federal election. Nielsen is worried that Liberalist Keith Dyck's platform of less government and fewer taxes might draw off enough Tory support to allow Liberal Rod Taylor to capture a close second place. Nielsen fears the arduous task of campaigning in the largest riding in Canada, where roads are rough when they exist at all and voters are scattered.

The Yukon riding, covering 202,000 square miles and containing a mere 14,000 voters, is one of three seats north of the 60th parallel. The other two, in the Northwest Territories, are Nunavut and Western Arctic, which together with the Yukon are larger than the nation of India. But campaigns north of 60 have an intimacy of small-town politics, and the current race is no exception.

In Nunavut, the vast Arctic riding that encompasses the eastern half of the Northwest Territories, Peter Iltis, the first Liberal to serve as an MP, is running as an independent. He won the riding for the NDP in 1979 and 1984 before crossing to the Liberals in November, 1988. Iltis, who then faced charges of fraud and breach of trust after an actor impersonated him as his wife's travel agent, says the Liberal nomination last month to Robert K. Opat, an Inuk from Holman Island in the northwest of the riding. Iltis, in turn, accused the Liberal riding association of blocking his re-nomination, a charge denied by former association president Frank Carley. Declared Carley: "Peter is a victim of his own failures. You have to look at his role and his record."

In the Western Arctic the infighting over the loss in Nunavut explodes. Tory ex David Stuckey, who won over the NDP in 1986 by only 25 votes. "It is a good to see the opposition banking their brains out but it reflects badly on the North," he said. Stuckey faces a strong challenge from Lynda Sorenson, a 27-year-old member of the N.W.T. legislative assembly, the energetic candidate running for the Liberals, but he is hoping that his base of support in Yellowknife will keep him in office.

—HEATHER STUCKEY, in Whitehorse and KAMLA SURECHIT in Yellowknife.

## A revival for Broadbent

When NDP leader Ed Broadbent stopped down from the stage after the televised debate on women's issues last week, his smile said it all: for the third time in the federal election campaign Broadbent had done well in a face-to-face encounter with Prime Minister Jean Chretien and Tory leader Brian Mulroney. But Broadbent's performance was only the latest lift for a party that has staged a political comeback since the campaign began. Last spring polls indicated that the party might lose most of its 31 seats if an election were called, and would slip below the 12 seats it needs to retain majority-party status in the House of Commons. But last week's Gallup poll indicated major gains for the NDP: the party now stands at 18 per cent, up seven per cent since the previous survey six weeks ago. Among the possible reasons for the rise were Broadbent's ease in stressing how mainstream his positions are and the party's attempt to portray itself as the small band that will keep the Liberals and Tories honest.

At the same time, Turner's errors, disagreements in the Liberal ranks and the NDP's strong early stand on women's issues and a nuclear arms freeze have all aided the party's revival and convinced

campaign workers that the "ordinary people" strategy is working. Said NDP national campaign manager Gerald Caplan: "Everyone knew we could sit with a government. But our surveys showed us we had a role in keeping the other guys honest. So we have not talked about implementing legislation or introducing programs. Instead, the role of the NDP is to have our ideas stated." Indeed, Broadbent almost appeared to enjoy accusing the other two leaders of taking the NDP position on youth unemployment during last week's debate. He also insists that the NDP forced Turner and Mulroney to support tax reform. Declared Broadbent: "I have attempted to stick to the mean and say how much they would cost."

Caplan is convinced that Broadbent's strong performance as the persona among the three leaders and the favorable response he gets from women have not only reassured traditional NDP voters, but have also won new support for the party. The NDP is particularly interested in attracting the support of young women and middle-income men between the ages of 31 and 45. Michael Morgan, a Vancouver advertising executive who is producing the party's \$1-million TV advertising campaign, argues

that the party's growing appeal to these two groups largely accounts for the rise in NDP popularity since the campaign began.

At the same time, the NDP has played down its ties to organized labor. Said Dennis McDermott, president of the two-million-member Canadian Labour Congress (CLC): "I am not specifying in this campaign. We are playing a low-key role and concentrating on our own people." Added Robert Jackson, a political scientist at Carleton University in Ottawa: "It was absolutely the right strategy because there is no support in Canada for radical socialist agendas." But the party still depends on trade-union support: in 42 ridings across the country, scores of voters electors telephone their fellow unionists each evening to relay the NDP's ordinary-Canadian message. The CLC estimates that the phone campaign will reach 100,000 union members. For his part, former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis suggested that a strong labor turnout would produce five additional NDP victories in Ontario ridings.

Defying conventional wisdom, feminist, baggy-eyed Broadbent emerged as the most effective performer in a campaign that the Liberals and Conservatives had hoped to win by emphasizing their fresh, new leaders. With Turner embroiled in controversies over hawking and patronage and Mulroney



Broadbent (right) at Windsor, Ont., airport: the interests of ordinary Canadians

challenged to spell out the costs of his program, Broadbent appeared before the establishment audience of Vancouver's Canadian Club at the end of July and demanded a 30-per-cent tax on the incomes of those earning \$50,000 or more. Last week he drew friendly crowds as he strolled through a farmer's market in Toronto schmoozing an apple and calmly seeking support, and later he

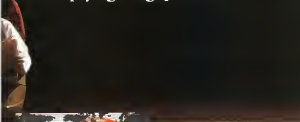
flew to Yellowknife to campaign with the NDP's candidate in the North. Said Lynn McDonald, the incumbent NDP candidate in Toronto's Broadview-Greenwood riding: "People at the close see they like Broadbent and are dissatisfied with the other two leaders."

But even with a rise in party fortunes and Broadbent's successful tours, few New Democrats watch their leader's

prediction of success on election day. In London, Ont., last week he declared: "We are not only going to hold the seats that we have, we are going to win more. I see movement right across the country." In fact, in many of the party's 35 Western seats, NDP candidates are too busy trying to hold on to contemplate any national revival.

In one case, in Winnipeg-St. James, the NDP won the riding by only 428 votes in 1980 and newcomer Linda Gausser, director of the Manitoba Federation of Labour Occupational Health Centres, is locked in a close race with Diana Ryback, the Liberal party's provincial president. Dunsen replaced Civi Keppre, who is seeking a seat in nearby Winnipeg North Centre, and is depending on her familiarity with local issues, not Broadbent's centrality, to draw her into office. And in Toronto Lynn McDonald is too busy fighting against former Toronto Div. officer Peter Worthington, a Conservative, to hold Broadview-Greenwood in worry about polls. Declared McDonald: "It is a phony issue. If no one had ever declared the death, no one would have to declare the resurrection." As a result, despite a successful campaign and an encouraging rise in the polls, the NDP may be working more than expected down loans than originally offered. —ANN WALSHLEY in Toronto, with correspondents' reports.

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Martin, Farmer: A total loss of \$2 billion in farm incomes, with consumers face the prospect of higher beef prices

## The high cost of a drought

By Patricia Hickey

Doug Martin knows that his crops are not the only casualties of this summer's vicious drought in the southern part of Canada's prairie grain belt. Martin's dream and his family's future are also withering beneath the scorching sun and parched conditions that result in the disastrous "dust bowl" of the 1930s. Like hundreds of other western farmers, Martin, who works 1,400 acres of land near Brooks, Alta., was already suffering from the impact of high interest rates and low produce prices, and he wonders if he will be able to recover from the blow of losing his entire wheat and barley crop to the drought. Said the 54-year-old father of three: "It may just close us right down unless we get the weather to let us run another year or land to more money."

Drought is just one of the consequences of the drought that scorched the prairie south of a line running from Brandon, Man., through Regina to Calgary. Although parts of that region have had rain during the past two weeks, it did not reverse the widespread damage caused by the preceding month of parched weather. The western grain and oilseed crops will be significantly below last year's, and much less will be

available for export. Coupled with the direct loss of farm income caused by the drought—estimated at \$900 million in Saskatchewan alone—the decline in earnings from sales abroad will slow the recovery of the recession-hit economies of the three Prairie provinces. As well,

Cherniack: A severe water slump



the loss of feed crops in cattle-raising areas may lead to higher beef prices for Canadians next year.

As the drought worsened through the summer, reductions of grasshoppers, which thrive in hot, dry conditions, attacked young farms. Said Robert Nicol, a farmer in the Pincher Creek, Alta., area: "I sprayed four times, but it was futile. They made the crop like summer foliage."

This resulting toll has been heavy. An Environment Canada report late last month indicated that half the grain crops in southern Alberta and southern Saskatchewan had been lost and that grasshoppers had eaten more than 67,000 square miles of crops. In Winnipeg, the United Grain Growers co-operative estimated that the western Canadian grain and oilseed crop this year could be 25 per cent below last year's, representing a total loss of about \$1.5 billion in farm income. And, in spite of government aid, the Canadian Cattleman's Association in Toronto estimated that western cattle producers may sell off an additional 10 to 25 per cent more than the normal 10 per cent sell-off of 1.8 million head cows this fall because of the damage caused to pastures and by the drought and because of feed and water shortages.

Indeed, many westerners are already feeling the economic impact, with municipalities in farming regions recording declining sales of agricultural equipment,

household appliances and even new vehicles. Said Eugene Cherniack, who has sold farm equipment in Assiniboia, Sask., for the past 13 years: "This is the first year that my equipment sales have gone down." And the repercussions may well extend beyond the borders of stricken provinces. Declared Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine: "If farmers have no money to spend, it means no tax money for government, it means they will not be buying equipment, and that means jobs will be lost in Ontario." Nor can farmers whose crops survived expect to earn higher prices as a result of the smaller crop that will be taken as harvesting begins across Western Canada last week. The reason: United States farmers have begun harvesting a record wheat crop that is expected to keep world grain prices at a low level.

At the same time, a sell-off of cows, calves and young steers by drought-affected farmers may provide a short-term benefit for consumers—followed by higher prices later. Heavy sales of animals that are not prime beef by farmers who cannot afford to maintain large breeding herds might mean lower prices for hamburger and other cheap cuts of meat this winter. But a smaller herd could also cause drastically higher prices in the long run as the supply of beef dwindles and it becomes necessary to import meat from other parts of Canada and the United States. Said Clifford Fries, manager of the Manitoba Poultry Elevator livestock auction in Brandon: "Cattle herds in western Canada are depleted already just because of the severity. The present situation could lead to a shortage of beef and higher prices for consumers in about six months."

In an attempt to protect farmers from selling off their breeding herds, Grains is expected to contribute \$50 million to a \$60-million fund to help farmers pay for livestock feed this winter. Under the complicated Prairie Livestock Drought Assistance program, farmers in the hardest-hit areas will receive \$45 per head for 80 per cent of their herds if they keep 75 per cent of them next year. April, but some cattle producers, who have seen the price of hay nearly double in recent weeks as a result of the drought, say that that assistance will not be enough. According to Gary Devos, a 60-year-old cattle farmer near Delmas, Man., 40 km south-west of Brandon, the grants offered under the program would cover the cost of feeding an animal for only 1½ months of the winter. "It's a bit of a joke," said Devos, who noted that his own herd of 280 cattle is in poor condition from eating only leaves and weeds in his pastures. Devos is worried that the effects of the drought will make next year's calf crop late,



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small and of poor quality. Added DeLoe: "It's getting to the point where the fittest are surviving and I'm hoping I'm one of the fittest."

As a way of helping arctic farmers, Ottawa has made available nearly \$500 million under the Western Grains Stabilization Program that supplements a farmer's income if it falls below a five-year average. An additional \$400 million will be advanced after Jan. 1, 1985. Last week, the premier of the two hardest-hit provinces—Alberta and Saskatchewan—told Prime Minister John Turner to please for an additional \$750 million in federal support for hard-pressed farmers. Producers Peter Lougheed and Grant Devine noted that Saskatchewan and other Canadian producers in the past and now "the time has come to aid Canadian agriculturists." But so far the federal government has turned a deaf ear to pleas by the three Prairie provinces for disaster assistance to save their floundering agricultural industries. Said Henri Van derwerf, policy adviser to federal Agriculture Minister Ralph Goodale: "The worst disaster zone have been handled around without reference to what that would mean. The government cannot start handing out money on favours."

For farmers like Malcolm Cundie of Kincaid, Sask., in the province's northwest, the disaster has already happened. Cundie, 41, took over his father's farm in 1971 and paid \$33,000 last year in interest payments to the bank. After seeing his crop ravaged by the drought this summer, Cundie, who, like about 70 per cent of western farmers, is covered by government-subsidized crop insurance, expects to be saved from bankruptcy by an insurance payout of up to \$64,000 in compensation for a crop of only six bushels an acre, instead of the 20 bushels an acre that his farm usually yields. But crop insurance only cushions the blow, without fully compensating farmers for lost income. Said Cundie: "Another year like this and I would be through."

Now, farmers are praying for heavy snowfalls this winter so that moisture reserves in the soil can be replenished. Without that, the misery of these wet, ice-riddled years may not be over. In the meantime, Doug Martin began to make it through the winter with the income from his wife as a secretary, and by selling some of his farm equipment. His greatest fear is that he will not have enough money to grow next crop. Said Martin: "Something is going to have to give or a lot of us are going to go under. I was born and raised here, and it hurts a lot to give up."

With this context in Calgary, Dale Rider in Regina, Louise Rouse in Winnipeg and Mary MacKenzie in Okotoks.

## The cult at Clark's Harbour

Just over a year ago members of a fundamentalist religious group from the United States began quietly moving into the peaceful fishing community around Clark's Harbour, N.S., 300 km south of Halifax. At first, the presence of the North East Kingdom Community Church united little interest. The allegations of child-leading by sect members in the United States and a police operation in Nova Scotia to remove a kidnapped former church member focused attention on the sect. Residents of Clark's Harbour are anxiously looking for ways to drive the sect away from their community. Said a Clark's Harbour bookkeeper, June Smith: "The sect

member was punched after he refused to lend a drunken local his gun. Last month residents who had heard that church members wanted to buy a resort hotel threatened that plan by raising \$25,000 and buying it themselves.

Members of the sect, who adhere to a literal interpretation of the Bible and believe in hard work and discipline, insist that they want to live in peace with local residents. But Kent Blades, chairman of a group of concerned citizens, fears that the church may begin recruiting young locals. So far, only one youth has joined, but Blades's group plans to hire counselors to help any sect members who want to defect.



Worst state policeman arresting U.S. cult member; strict discipline

majority of people want them out."

Today some 70 members of the sect live in the area. The majority of them reside in two old clapboard houses in Clark's Harbour. Concern over the North East Kingdom Community Church developed last October after CBC television's *The Journal* reported that Robert Spriggs, a former stress worker who founded the movement in the 1970s, had forced a sect member's daughter to flee abroad with him. Residents of Clark's Harbour who saw the show recognized Spriggs and the missing girl as members of the local community and tipped off the RCMP. The Mounties stopped a car driven by a sect member at a roadblock outside Liverpool, N.S., and subsequently returned the 13-year-old girl to her parents in the United States.

Hostility toward the cult promptly mounted in Clark's Harbour. In May vandals smashed windows in a building owned by the sect, and later a church

member's group is also working on plans to obliterate the names of people who have sect numbers or sell property to them. "We want to prevent an invasion here," says Blades, who complains that cult members are taking work away from local construction workers by accepting low rates of pay. A deeper and more serious fear is that sect members in Nova Scotia, who refuse to send their children to school and are already facing three treason charges brought by the Shelburne County District School Board, may be abusing their children by administering severe beatings in the name of discipline. That suspicion is bound to intensify as Edward Weerman, an elder of the sister Church of Island Pond, goes on trial in Kensington, Vt., this week, charged with beating 13-year-old Darlyn Church with a wooden rod during a seven-hour disciplinary session last year.

—MICHAEL CLEGGON  
in Halifax

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COVER

## The Germanys move closer

By Ross Laver

**T**he two-room apartment in a working-class district of Hamburg is bare. But for the Voigt family, formerly of the Baltic port city of Rostock in East Germany, it is home—the altered result of a 30-year struggle to migrate to the West. Farmer musician Christian Voigt and his wife, Magdalena, both 33, and their children, Marcus, 13, and Alexandra, 12, crossed the frontier—legally—in April, beneficiaries of a remarkable improvement in relations between East and West Germany.

Until 1960, Germans played accordion with a ban on Rostock. But the East German authorities revealed the band's license to perform, citing the performance of politically unacceptable songs. Shortly afterward Magdalena lost her job in a local art gallery where she

had complained about authoritarian behavior by the gallery's director. Unable to find other work, the Voigts sought permission to emigrate. After a frustrating wait, security police accompanied the Voigts family to the frontier on April 13. Four months later Magdalena was working in a Hamburg art gallery and Christian was planning to open a small moving business. Both are optimistic. Says Christian, "Here in the West, you feel free to talk and move about. Nobody checks up on you."

Nearly 40 years after they were wrenched apart in the aftermath of the Second World War, the two Germanys are tentatively reaching out to one another across their heavily armed 1,000-km frontier. And it is in a process with profound diplomatic, economic and human implications—for the superpowers, the rest of Europe and the German

people themselves. Although the prospect of a formal reunification is still far remote, the dream is now more alive than at any time since Allied bombers left the skies over a devastated Berlin in 1945. Indeed, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said last week that the peaceful reunification of the German people "remains a historic task."

**Diffusers:** The progress toward rapprochement between the two German states will receive dramatic new stimulus late next month when, for the first time since the war, the leader of Communist East Germany is scheduled to shake hands with his former countryman on capitalist West German soil. The planned visit by Erich Honecker, the first secretary of the East German Communist Party, to his native town of Wilhelmshaven represents both a historic journey and an act of calculated defiance by a hard-headed politician

Berlin's Brandenburg Gate, Honecker, Kohl (below): a stimulus to rapprochement

chasing under the restrictions imposed by his worried and increasingly angry masters in the Soviet Union. By almost any standard, it promises to be a significant step toward a redrawing of the contours of Europe.

Motivated on one level by sharply differing but uniquely German interests—

by ordinary Germans on either side of the border. Perhaps as a consequence, a resurgent wave of patriotism, nationalism and anti-Americanism, particularly among younger West Germans, has rekindled debate on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

While the current improvement in relations is far removed from formal reunification, there is a growing conviction in both Bonn and East Berlin that prosperous continuities between capitalist West Germany and Communist East Germany might serve to counter-balance the renewed Cold War West-Germany. In particular, recall that former chancellier Willy Brandt's policy of *Ostpolitik*, which more than a decade ago led to the establishment of formal relations between the two Germanys, also im-



proved relations with Moscow and Eastern Europe and helped to encourage East-West détente. And among some ideologues on the West German left, there are suggestions that improved trade and political ties could set the stage for a new Europe that would erode its own foreign policy outside the narrow military and philosophical restrictions of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact.

The prospect of normal inter-German relations has caused uneasiness in both the United States and the Soviet Union. Washington fears that the gradual spread of socialist sentiment may undermine NATO, its principal bulwark against Soviet expansion in Europe. At the same time, Moscow fears that East Germany's traditionally unwavering commitment to the Warsaw Pact might weaken. Both superpowers also have economic reasons to be wary of German rapprochement. For their part, U.S. state department officials remind that in his experience in foster East Bloc trials, Kohl might order subsidization of U.S. firms to ignore President Ronald Reagan's 1982 ban on high-technology exports to Communist nations. As well, Moscow does not want any erosion of Soviet influence in its richest satellites.

**Punches:** While recent West German gestures toward East Germany have caused concern among some Western allies, particularly France, Reagan administration officials state that Bonn's moves are consistent with established U.S. policy. Declared one state department official: "We do not see this as some slippery slope to the downfall of the postwar order." On the contrary, the Reagan administration rebuffs testing the Kremlin from the same sort of self-satisfaction with its own policies that the United States regularly encounters.

Moreover, by contrast, has openly expressed its dissatisfaction with East Germany's conciliatory policies. In an apparent attempt to dissuade Honecker from proceeding with his trip to the Federal Republic, four recent Soviet press commentaries have accused Bonn of "treachery"—a reference to what the Kremlin contends is a long-standing policy by the West Germanys to regain their former empire. The Soviets are particularly annoyed because the rifts between the two Germanys has emerged at a time when the Kremlin wants to punish Bonn for agreeing to deploy new U.S.-built Pershing II and cruise missile missiles.

Even the end of the Second World War, modern Germany ranked as an independent global military power. But currently, both East and West Germanys are home not only to their own troops and weaponry but to those of their past-war allies as well. In West Germany there is a conscripted West force of 220,000



## COVER

Americans, 68,000 British, 68,000 French, 32,000 Belgians, 4,700 Dutch and 3,400 Canadians. In addition, the West German army can deploy more than 4,000 tanks and 12 divisions for a total force of 335,000 men. Its troops' nuclear arsenal is equally formidable, consisting of 5,000 nuclear warheads. By 1985, West Germany will battle with 195 Pershing and 96 cruise missiles.

East Germany is even more fortified: Soviet forces in the country total 32 divisions, or 400,000 men, and 3,000 tanks. At the same time, the East Germans maintain 100,000 active troops as well as more than 70,000 border guards and 578,000 paramilitary forces. Still, the suspicious Soviets rigidly control the size of the East German army, and forbid the development of a domestic arms industry. Indeed, Moscow's understandable fear of German militarism—a direct result of the evil and 35 million Soviet fatalities during the First and Second World Wars—is a cornerstone of the superpower's foreign policy. An armed, united German nation is a recurring nightmare among Soviet officials and the Soviet public alike.

To many observers, the most striking aspect of the current improvement in inter-German relations is the fact that it is happening at all. A staunch conservative known for his hard-line stance on most NATO-Warsaw Pact issues, the 64-year-old Kohl led his Christian Democratic Union to power in October, 1982,

promising to adopt a more pro-Western posture in foreign affairs. In particular, Kohl's party was scorchingly critical of the Ostpolitik begun by the rival Social Democratic Party under former chancellor Brandt. When for the first time both sides recognized each other's right to exist, critics of Ostpolitik within West Germany, including Kohl's Christian Democrats, warned that by encouraging full participation by East Germany in world diplomacy, Bonn was encouraging the German people to perpetuate division. At the same time, East Germany's government made no secret of its deep distaste for Kohl's anti-Communist views—at least until he succeeded Helmut Schmidt, Board for East Berlin on a private visit in 1978. Kohl was turned back at the border by East German guards, who told him that his visit was "undesirable."

**Comments:** Far from disavowing West Germany's links with the East, however, Kohl's government has sought to reinforce them, pressing ahead with its own policy—known as *Deutschlandpolitik*—in a move that angered his right-wing supporters, prominent Bavarian Christian Democrat Franz Josef Strauss helped put together a \$396-billion (U.S.) private loan package to East Germany last year—the biggest loan ever made to East Germany by a Western nation and the first not to be linked to a specific business project. Said Strauss, for years one of the most outspokenly anti-Communist of senior men with the Eastern Bloc: "I can switch



coarse faster than your eyes can follow."

Western analysts say this, as the author Helmut, too, seems an unlikely advocate of class-war-Germany. The quiet, 74-year-old Communist leader commands wide respect for his managerial skills, but until recently he had a well-earned reputation as a hard-line adherent to official Moscow policy. Born in the Saarland, now a region of West Germany, Haase joined the German Communist Party in 1930. Admiring Hitler's rise to absolute power in 1933, he was arrested by the Gestapo and sentenced to 10 years in prison for his political affiliation. Amazingly, he survived the war in Berlin's infamous Brandenburger-Garden jail, to be freed by advancing Russian troops on April 25, 1945. By the following spring Haase had firmly established himself as a member of the German Communist Party's central committee. Indeed, it was Haase who, as head of East German security forces, organized the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. The wall quickly became an international symbol of Communist repression, particularly after President John F. Kennedy denounced it as an obscenity during his 1961 visit.

For years Haase was seen as the likely successor to chairman Walter Ulbricht and, when the ailing Ulbricht stepped down in 1971, Haase was supposed as he assumed the supreme position of East party secretary. In 1973, in the climate of disorder, he began refusing contacts with the West,

allowing more than eight million East Germans and West Germans to enter West Germany annually for family reasons. But when growing Western influence threatened to release a torrent of discontent, Haase quickly slammed the doors again. In 1979 the East German government also put into force stringent laws threatening East Germans with as many as 12 years in prison for passing to Westerners embarrassing revelations about economic problems or acts of political repression.

**Shackles:** But what most worried ordinary East German citizens was a new law prohibiting "illegal contacts" with Westerners. Passed in 1979, the law was an element in a campaign by Haase to contain the spread of dissent. The new laws also included a virtual doubling of the amount of hard currency—to the equivalent of 25 West German marks (\$11), instead of the prevailing 13—that visitors from non-Communist countries were required to exchange for each day spent in East Germany. That change in policy had the desired effect of slashing the number of visitors to 3.4 million in



1981 (from West Germany and West Berlin) from 6.4 million in 1979.

When it agreed last September to guarantee the \$306.8-million bank loan, the Kohl government clearly indicated that it expected important humanitarian concessions from East Germany in return. At first Haase merely waived the 75-mark-a-day obligatory foreign-exchange requirement for children under 16, who account for about 15 per cent of West German visitors. Then, as Western border troops watched skeptically, Communist guards began removing some of the 30,000 daily automobile-licensing "sheepdog guards" posted along the frontier. Haase regarded the dismantling of the fences as a welcome change. And West German officials now hope that standing East German orders for border guards to shoot outsiders may soon be rescinded.

Haaseker has also sharply increased the number of exit permits granted to citizens who want to move to the West. In 1983 the East German authorities allowed only 6,000 refugees to leave. Of those, most were old-age pensioners whose departure served

the government's economic purposes by reducing massive expenditures and reducing monthly pension and health-care costs. By contrast, this year about 71,000 East Germans, many of them young, well-educated householders with large families, were permitted to emigrate up to June 30, when East German authorities again cut off the roads. Among the East Germans who made it to the Glienke refugee camp near Frankfurt was Ingrid Berg, niece of East German Premier Willi Stoph, the second most important man in the Communist hierarchy. West German authorities were so embarrassed by the publicity over Berg's defection that they initially withheld any comment, fearing that too much attention might lead to arrest in East Germany and cause Haaseker to close the border completely. In a similar gesture, Bonn took the unusual step in June of warning East Germans against seeking asylum in its diplomatic mission in East Berlin. Explained Philipp Jenninger, a West German official responsible for relations with East Germany: "It is unfortunately not possible to take in any more such people."

**Ashears:** West Germany's immediate actions in the current exchanges are humanitarian, reflecting that country's relative prosperity and its overall sense of responsibility to its Communist cousin. Rising from the ashes of Hitler's Third Reich and rebuilt with U.S. dollars under the Marshall Plan, West Ger-

Jenninger: humanitarian



many rapidly developed into one of the most economically dynamic and affluent countries in the world. With a total population of 62 million, it is the world's second-largest exporter of manufactured goods—after the United States—and its 21-million-member work force is both highly productive and highly skilled. Among its major industries: steel, automobile production, shipbuilding and telecommunications. Even so, most economists say that West Germany's extremely high economic growth rates are probably past.

**Opposition:** For its part, East Germany, with only 16.8 million people, ranks as the Soviet Bloc's most prosperous nation—a major exporter of machinery,

oil-free trade credits from West Germany of about \$300 million annually enable Honecker to satisfy consumer demand for such Western-made products as dishwashers, television sets and refrigerators. Honecker hopes that, by maintaining East Germany's steady improvement in living standards, he can avoid the emergence of any serious domestic opposition. As the Septimian, editor of the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, wrote recently, "They [the East Germans] need a reliable, dependable, long-term partnership as not to be detached from international technological developments, to maximize their credit in international foreign exchange markets and to avoid a reduction in living standards."

At the same time, Western diplomats

February, his place was taken by Konstantin Gherasimov, 72, the hard-bitten member of Moscow's old guard. Within the Soviet high command, old-timers such as Gherasimov, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Defense Minister Dmitry Ustinov are believed to be pinned against a more pragmatic faction, led by 53-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev. The Politburo pragmatists, according to Western analysts, argue that the East would reap both economic and political benefits from increased East-West trade in all areas.

**Forces:** For now, however, the Politburo hardly appears to be firmly in control. In a dispatch marking the 14th anniversary last week of a somber-sounding pact with West Germany—signed by Brezhnev and former Soviet leader Leo-

nen Gromyko remained official policy. Added Kohl: "I will do all that is humanly possible in my period of office to bring the people of both Germanys together. But only by peaceful means, without force."

Even more troublesome from the Soviet standpoint is the fact that other Eastern Bloc nations are also exhibiting signs of unhappiness with official Moscow policy. Hungary, for one, has once again resented the Soviet blockade for refusing to fall into line on East-West relations. And the Soviets were particularly unhappy when *novels* in Moscow decided not to join the Olympics held in an ostensibly bold gesture. In August, at the 40th Anniversary of the Revolution in Bucharest, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu criticized not only NATO's missile deployment in Western Europe but also the Soviet Union's "nuclear countermeasures." Even normally reliable Bulgaria appeared to be straying. The government in Sofia announced recently that its leader, Todor Zhivkov, will visit Bonn this fall.

**Emotional:** Despite those stirrings of independence, it is unlikely that there is any real fear in Moscow that East German separatism may be the first step on the road to reunification. For one thing, it has been a consistent Kremlin slogan in recent years that there can be no real relations between "states of different social orders." As a result, many analysts believe that Moscow does not, in itself, want to block Honecker's rush to West Germany but to ensure that while he there, he does not make any radical gesture of reconciliation. As one U.S. state department expert noted: "The fact is that the East Germans are totally dependent on the Soviet Union. They know exactly what their room for maneuvering is."

While the diplomatic moves continue, some observers argue that the two Germanys have grown too far apart—ideologically and economically—to ever be rejoined. Young West Germans in particular lack their parents' patriotic and emotional bond to the East. A recent opinion poll found that 49 percent of those aged 14 to 21 regarded East Germany as "less attractive" than the West. The population as a whole the figure was 39 percent. But history, language and cultural heritage are powerful forces, too, and the people of the two Germanys share all these. As former West German president Walter Scheel remarked in his Bundestag six years ago, "a nation which can only be separated by a wall and barred over must indeed have a strong sense of togetherness."

**West-Bloc:** Chancellor Helmut Kohl's *Hamburger* is in Office, Peter Laut in Bonn, Gilbert Lohmeier in Washington and Gerald Strosser in Hamburg.

## A personal view of unity

As relations between Bonn and East Berlin improve, some observers warn against a resurgence in German nationalism. *Randomly-based author Günter Grass is no stranger to the current debate. From 1974 to 1981 he served as Bonn's first diplomatic representative to East Germany. He has written a best-selling memoir on the German situation. Where Germany Lies. Last week, Maclean's correspondent Peter Leach interviewed Grass on the new dilemma.*

**Maclean's:** To what extent are superpowers keen likely to hamper the pursuit of German unity?



Grass: "A question of national identity"

**Grass:** I'm afraid that both German nations are not totally free to push decisions when there's a crisis between Washington and Moscow. I rather look upon the Germans as squirrels trying to store away food for a hard winter. Unfortunately, the squirrels probably won't be allowed to gather as many nuts as they'd like.

**Maclean's:** The prevailing opinion in the United States appears to be that the ultimate beneficiary of any rapprochement between the two Germanys will be the Soviet Union. How do you react to that perception?

**Grass:** I think it's a rather stupid view. How could it be that when two German

nations with a common border try to find a better way of living together—a path that has nothing to do with reunification—it serves only the interests of Russia? First, it's in the interests of the two Germanys, that is, the interests of their citizens, neighbors and finally in the interests of both superpowers.

**Maclean's:** What kindled the present mood to strengthen links?

**Grass:** I think growing anger about the risks of nuclear war. Despite our leadership, several attacks on both sides of the divide are desperately feared. This has prompted the more perceptive politicians on either side to realize that it would be better for everyone to try to soothe these fears. Thus, détente.

**Maclean's:** Do you think it likely that if East Germany along too far from the Soviet line, the Kremlin will crack down as it did in Poland and Czechoslovakia?

**Grass:** No, because I don't think the East Germans have any intention of straying from the Soviet line. They are as less concerned to communicate than in the past, and are not about to betray their principles for money or fame. What worries me, though, is that the huge amount of publicity given in the West to the current rapprochement could lead to a misunderstanding in the Kremlin. I like about what East Germany is up to, making it impossible to pursue détente.

**Maclean's:** How important a factor is German nationalism—and the desire for reunification—in the current mood to improve relations?

**Grass:** I don't think that in West Germany you can find many people interested in reunification. In East Germany, you might find more people willing to offer because they look at Western television and see how much better life is here. Still, there's no real longing for reunification. But that doesn't mean we are not increasingly aware of being German. It is a question of national identity—a common history, language, culture. Another point strikes me as essential. Our nations are not totally free to make decisions to express their own strong sense of national identity but they won't accept Germans doing the same. After the war, Germany's neighbors—and I understand these perfectly—were only too happy that the Germans did not ask for their own freedom. They said that a majority of Germans are doing so, not of fear of nuclear holocaust, our neighbors find it dangerous. In other words, what national identity is, is America is also free to do. That understanding may be one of the toughest problems facing the Western community today.



Kennedy during his 1963 German visit: condensing an international symbol of Communist repression

chemicals and technical expertise to East European nations. That is a remarkable achievement for a country that must import virtually all of its raw materials. Per capita income—about \$2,500 GDM—in less than half that of West Germany, but it is the envy of its East European neighbors.

Still, Western economists say that Honecker badly needs loans from Bonn—including a new \$300-million (U.S.) credit approved by Kohl last month—to help meet interest payments on the \$9.4 billion his country owes to Western lenders. East Germany now owes 50 percent of its hard currency earnings (just 34 percent of its total earnings) to the West.

any that Honecker is obviously taking advantage of a rift in the Politburo in Moscow in order to exert his current independence in foreign affairs. Those analysts note that only a year ago the late Soviet leader Yuri Andropov was subtly encouraging East Germany's three-nation diplomatic campaign—even if, as widely expected, his policy was at least partly designed to block deployment of new NATO missiles in Western Europe. But the strategy failed, and the missile deployment began on schedule in December, angering Moscow-Washington relations to their coldest level in years. And when An-

dropov—the Soviet newsmen agree 70-80 said that Bonn should respect Moscow's "territorial prudence." Added that: "An intrinsic part of the Moscow Treaty is the principle, rendered in it, of the inviolability of the postwar European borders. However, data indicate that the present conservative government [in Bonn] is more and more coming to doubt the high position of the treaty."

Kohl's response, in an interview with the right-wing daily newspaper *Welt* Zeitung, clearly did nothing to allay Moscow's fears. Although he pledged to respect the Soviet-West German treaty, the West German leader said tonight, "I don't think we can do anything to change the situation."

# Chipping slowly into the Berlin Wall



U.S. troops spying their Eastern Bloc counterparts over the wall, epitomizing the uncomfortable reality of a divided Germany

The forbidding concrete wall that divides the city of Berlin is only 10 feet high. But the 145-km-long barrier casts a dark and menacing shadow over rapprochement between the two Germans. Indeed, in statements issued by the governments in East Berlin and Bonn on the anniversary of the wall's construction, it was clear that the two sides have sharply different views of what has become an international symbol of the East-West schism. East Berlin's state-controlled press declared that the wall remains an essential component of East Germany's security. But Bonn's minister for Inter-German relations, Heinrich Wonnike, used the occasion to condemn Berlin's partition, declaring that "in 25 years, this construction has lost some of its horror and absurdity."

**Geese at first glance.** The wall seems incongruous. It runs in an eccentric loop around West Berlin and ignores the city's natural features. The eastern side bristles with weaponry. There are, in fact, two walls. The second line about 500 m inside East German territory. In between, the land has been strung up to make room for ditches, anti-tank defenses, foot-patrolling elite troops, watchtowers and no fewer than 500 dog runs where specially trained German shepherds patrol. An army of 14,000 East German border troops patrols the wall. The troops have orders to shoot anyone attempting to escape and they follow their instruc-

tions to the letter. Since 1961, they have killed more than 70 people for trying to escape over the wall. Despite being surrounded by East Germany's powerful armed forces, West Berliners have, over the years, grown immune to the threat. Among most of them, resignation has replaced the anger that the wall originally inspired. Indeed, the wall has become the city's principal tourist attraction, inspiring portraits, posters and posters. Even the graffiti have evolved in time. Such angry phrases as "Death alley" and "Made in the Soviet Union" have yielded to whimsical paintings of ladders and ladders. Some are.

East German officials continue to insist that the wall is an essential barrier against invasion from the West. But East German officials fail to see another purpose, keeping their people in East Germany. Between 1945 and 1961 the Eastern sector lost four million Germans to the West—a "brain and brawn" drain that bled East Germany of much of its youth, skilled workers and professionals. The wall drastically slowed the exodus.

Beyond Berlin's chain link fence tagged with barbed wire divides the entire 1,000-km frontier between East and West Germany. Unlike the Berlin Wall, the remote countryside portions of the fence are fortified with land mines and deadly 120-mm mortar anti-aircrafting devices. But despite all the mine-traps, refugees frequently cross the

frontier. Since 1961 roughly 185,000 East Germans—including 2,746 border guards—have fled to the West. Escapees have tunneled, crawled, ran, flown light aircraft and, in one dramatic instance, floated across in a homemade hot-air balloon.

**Forbidden.** The frontier remains a deadly place, but mostly the East Germans agreed to limit some of the most gruesome weaponry. Last year, East and West Germany signed a landmark accord that resulted in the dismantling of one-third of the starter automatic firing devices along the frontier. Then, last month, in return for West German credit guarantees, East Berlin agreed to remove the remaining devices.

Most observers predict that the Berlin Wall will continue to split the city for many years. For the West Germans, Berlin is a difficult city to administer, as well as a difficult place to do business. But Bonn remains committed to supporting the isolated city with huge subsidies to the municipal budget. At the same time, it has unofficially recognized that the reality of a divided Germany is as solid as the concrete of the infamous wall. West Germany participates in a mutual border commission which attempts to deal with minor boundary disputes, even as Bonn continues to face hope for a reunited Germany. Solid Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the ruling Christian Union is unshakeable but not necessarily eternal. —PETER LEWIS

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Reagan broadcasting to radio listeners, despite a presidential gaffe, party leaders labored to assure a celebration of unity

## WORLD

# A Republican love affair

By Michael Posner

**T**he script lacks both conflict and drama. No surprise nominations are expected, nor any divisive floor fights. Indeed, as the Republicans gather this week in Dallas for the challenge being convention organizers is how to inject excitement into an affair as predictable as President Ronald Reagan's re-nomination. The task is not simply to entertain the 4,579 delegates or 12,000 media representatives expected to attend. With four television networks providing prime-time coverage, the Grand Old Party hopes to turn its convuls in Dallas into a television pageant that persuades millions of viewers to forgo summer retreats in favor of a Republican political message.

Party leaders remain confident, despite a potentially damaging gaffe by Reagan last week in which the president joked that the Soviet Union had been outlawed and "We began bombing in five minutes." Embarrassment, precipitated by the remark, failed to dampen Republican hopes for a spectacular convention focused on Reagan himself. But GOP leaders are not relying on the president alone to boost Republican ratings. Conscious of the Democrats' effort to seize the future, the party will spotlight half a dozen promising GOP politicians in Democratic speeches. Among them Senators Robert Dole (Kan.) and Howard

Baker (Iowa), as well as Congressman Jack Kemp (N.Y.). All three are potential candidates for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination. A fourth likely challenger, Vice-President George Bush, was scheduled to speak, with Reagan, also on Thursday night, when the television audience was expected to be at its largest.

The convention alone seemed to target a viewless constituency that the Democrats are trying to appease with its own American women. Fully 42 per cent of Republican delegates will be women, up from 38 per cent in 1980, but still lagging behind the 55 per cent women represented at last month's Democratic convention in San Francisco. For the first time, a woman—U.S. Treasurer Katherine Donnell—will be the keynote speaker for the con. But few Republicans expect Oregon, a New Mexico, to match the powerful oratory of New York Gov. Mario Cuomo at the Democrats' big show.

Other potential Republican women were also preparing to play a central role in Dallas, including three Reagan cabinet officers: United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler and Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole, who is widely mentioned as a possible vice-presidential nominee in 1988.

Beyond political titles, the Republicans have banked heavily on Hollywood celebrities to keep audiences tuned in. Among those expected either to make appearances on the convention floor or to deliver special events: Bob Hope, Pat Boone, Wayne Newton, John Rivers, Denny and Marie Osmond, Frank Sinatra and Tom Selleck. Billionaire Nelson A. Rockefeller planned to bring a \$1,500-a-plate party—complete with caviar, caviar and balloon ride—at his Circle T ranch.

To ensure that Dallas would become a week-long celebration of Republican unity, last week party leaders took pains to iron out the last vestiges of debate on the platform. The key issue was taxes. The Republican right wing, deeply committed to supply-side economics, regards taxes as excessively onerous, and it fought for language that would commit Reagan not to raise taxes during a second term. But Reagan's campaign aides, led by former transportation secretary Drew Lewis, argued that blanket prohibition of tax increases would unduly limit the president's room to maneuver. David Dole, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and a member of the moderate wing, "Let's not trap the president."

In the end, both factions claimed victory. The wording agreed on: "We therefore oppose any attempt to increase taxes, which would harm the recovery and reverse the trend toward restoring control of the economy to individual Americans." That seemed a clear victory for the conservatives. But Lewis, explaining that the president could "live with" the document, succeeded in inserting a clause that the party "now foresees no economic circumstances that would call for increased taxes." According to the president's advisers, that language implied that changing economic conditions might require new economic prescriptions. Added Lewis: "No platform can wrap the authority of the president."

Conservatives, led by Kemp, a former professional football quarterback, also seemed to take control of other platform issues. Kemp-inspired language criticized the Federal Reserve Board for "mismanaging tight money policy and pushed the party toward adopting a new tax system based on flat rates. The Republican right was equally effective on national security plank. The agreed platform endorsed Reagan's "bold new strategic defense initiative," calling for development of so-called Star Wars weapons, and it committed the party to the principle of "peace through strength." At the same time, moderate Republicans repeatedly fired off resolutions designed to influence the platform. So-called Moderate Congressional Olympia House: "It's just as the party I used to know."

The full convention was expected to debate the flat platform document Tuesday, before intensive coverage began. And the most serious protests were expected to come in the streets of Dallas. Special interest groups from religious fundamentalists to the gay liberation movement planned demonstrations. But a \$60,000, six-to-eight-hour guard by Dallas police was expected to keep the protesters at a discreet distance from the convention arena. The Republicans had scripted a love-in for Ronald Reagan, and nothing was going to disrupt it. □

## Kemp, conservative victory



# Ferraro faces the past

**I**t was a complicating factor in an already difficult bid for the presidency. Last week Democratic vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro found herself, at least by a 30-year-old Washington obsession—ethics in government—a resident of the White House. At issue were awkward questions about Congressman Ferraro's personal financial statements and the assets of her husband, millionaire New York realtor John Zucaro. Ferraro had backed away from an earlier commitment to file both her own and her spouse's tax returns, declaring that

Lawmakers may claim an exemption to avoid disclosing the assets of relatives only if they have no knowledge of these assets or if they do not derive any financial benefit from them.

Ferraro's ethics contest that her claim for exemption since her election is not justified. She was a shareholder and director, as well as treasurer, of her husband's New York firm, P. Zucaro and Co. As a result, according to officials of the Washington Legal Foundation, a conservative public interest law firm, it is likely that Zucaro's assets that Ferraro has no knowledge of the financial dealings of that corporation. The



Ferraro and husband Zucaro caught up in a post-Whitegate obsession

her husband had refused to provide his forms because he worried his business competitors would gain an advantage.

David Stein, a lawyer who was involved in Ferraro's successful 1978 reelection campaign in the New York borough of Queens, denied having advised her that personal loans could be used to finance her campaign. Stein directly contradicted affidavits signed by Zucaro and former Ferraro campaign treasurer David Richardson. Both claimed that Stein, who once worked for the Federal Election Commission (FEC), had recommended that Zucaro lend funds to his wife's campaign, despite the FEC's ban on loans exceeding \$1,000 per person. Zucaro contributed \$10,000 and was later FEC CEO.

The heart of Ferraro's problems is the 1978 Ethics in Government Act, a legacy of Watergate, which requires members of Congress to provide detailed accounts of their personal finances every year.

WTF has asked the justice department and the House ethics committee to investigate.

A number of lesser issues also surround Ferraro's financial records, including the question of whether she has fully repaid her husband for campaign loans. And this week's uncorroborated statements of disclosure will probably fail to resolve the central issue—whether or not the law and the standards set by federal law. An investigation by the Democrat-controlled House might be seen as a partisan act. At the same time, a justice department probe by the Republican administration might be criticized on the same grounds. Ultimately, it may require an independent prosecutor to settle the affair. But as long as questions about Ferraro's finances remain unanswered, Democratic presidential nominee Walter Mondale's campaign will struggle under a cloud.

—MICHAEL POSNER in Washington

## A relentless slide into chaos

The spiral of escalating violence seemed unstoppable. Last week an Sri Lankan soldier died when their jeep hit a land mine embedded in a road in the strife-torn island's northern region. Army officials immediately blamed members of Tamil guerrilla organizations who have been seeking independence for the country's north. Then, in what witnesses described as a reprisal for the bombing, estranged troops launched a mass rampage in the coastal town of Mannar, 120 km north of the capital, Colombo. When it was over, two civilians were dead and 132 buildings destroyed after the troops set them on fire. At first the Sri Lankan government denied that its troops had run amok. But after a tour of the ruined town, Sri Lankan Transport Minister H.M. Nanjundhi admitted that the army had been responsible. Surviving the troops' damage, Mannar's Roman Catholic bishop, Thomas Sadasakpan, commented bitterly, "It is like an army of occupiers destroying everything in its path."

The immediate effect of last week's army rampage was to raise the temperature of an already dangerously overheated crisis. The soldiers' deaths and

**The army's campaign immediately raised the temperature of an already dangerously overheated crisis**

the ensuing rampage effectively ended violent incidents last year that sparked vicious fighting between the island's Tamil community and the majority Sinhalese. Two weeks of rioting left 460 dead and \$100 million in individual damage. Since then, Tamil guerrillas have launched a new offensive that in the

past two weeks alone has claimed the lives of 99 people. Western diplomats in Colombo warn that Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardene is rapidly running out of options to deal with the crisis. And one official "Sri Lankan security forces will soon be unable to root out Tamil guerrillas, and the secessionists cannot defeat the army."

At the heart of the crisis are demands by leaders of the island's 27 million

Sinhala Tamils for greater autonomy. They claim that they have been excluded from government and higher education by Sri Lanka's 11 million Buddhist Sinhalese. Although most Tamils do not support the guerrillas, they have begun to lose hope that a political solution to the crisis will be found. Indeed, the community's youth, frustrated by chronic high unemployment in Tamil regions, are joining the rebels' ranks in increasing numbers. And discontent is growing even among older Tamil nationalists.

"We want a united Sri Lanka," one Tamil teacher said last week. "But it must be one in which our right to our own institutions is set down in law." Officials of the mainstream Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), the principal parliamentary voice of the Tamil population, have argued for greater regional autonomy. Declared party leader Agampala Amirthalingam: "Everything depends on what the government does. If it meets our basic needs, 90 per cent of our people would be prepared to accept a reasonable compromise."

Still, Sinhalese outrage at attacks by Tamil guerrilla organizations has left Jayawardene few options. In January his government announced setting up regional councils that would provide forums for Tamil interests. But members of the Sinhalese-dominated opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party joined forces

with the island's Buddhist clergy to denounce the plan. They claimed that the council's creation would be the irreversible first step toward an independent Tamil state. Some Sri Lankan analysts have accused Jayawardene of bargaining in bad faith.

But at the same time, the issue is damaging the already strained relations between Sri Lanka and its great northern neighbor, India. The Jayawardene government claims that India is harboring Tamil terrorists among the roughly 50,000 Sri Lankan refugees who fled to the nearby Indian state of Tamil Nadu after last year's rioting. But members of India's Tamil population, numbering 50 million, have demanded that Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi intervene in the Sri Lankan crisis to stop what they label the genocide of their co-religionists. Already Sri Lanka's international image has suffered ever since India. On Aug. 8 a powerful bomb exploded in the arrival lounge of the international airport in Madras, the state capital of Tamil Nadu. Officials claimed that Sri Lankan terrorists had planted the device, which killed 32 people. On Aug. 11 Indian police arrested five people in connection with the incident, including two employees of Sri Lanka's national airline.

But while Western diplomats say that the Tamil guerrilla groups have created



Soldiers whipping civilian gutted

nothing in Sri Lanka, they claim that the rebel movement lacks direction. Indeed, the rebels are split into six factions, and there are signs of often vicious rivalry. Last week government officials said that the bodies of eight unidentified people found in the nearby city of Jaffna were apparently the victims of a power struggle within the guerrilla movement. But the incident was largely overlooked until announcements that the armed forces are responsible for the vast majority of recent deaths.

At week's end merchants and residents in Jaffna, Sri Lanka's third-largest city and a major center of the Tamil community, stayed behind shattered shops and homes. Few people ventured into the streets, where troops maintained a nervous calm. Meanwhile, high-level Sri Lankan sources revealed privately that the armed forces would undergo intense retraining to improve discipline. But, they added, the strife-torn island cannot rely on a military solution. They said that the challenge facing Jayawardene is to provide the Tamils with a system of limited autonomy that is acceptable to the Sinhalese majority. Warned Mannar's Amirthalingam: "The larger the government delays a political solution, the worse things will get."

—ERIC SILVER in Colombo

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DeLoorean with Ferraro; doubts on the future of government sting operations

#### THE UNITED STATES

## DeLoorean's sweet release

With a simple "Praise the Lord," millionaire auto industry entrepreneur and born-again Christian John Zachary DeLoorean walked out of a Los Angeles courtroom last week a free man. A jury of six women and six men ended 39 hours of deliberation and a five-month trial by finding DeLoorean, 50, not guilty on all eight charges of conspiring to traffic in cocaine. Some jurors and afterward they did not believe the government had proved its case against the former General Motors executive and designer of a \$35,000 (U.S.) gold-winged sports car, which he named after himself. Others expressed the view that the government had lured DeLoorean into a crime it had itself created. That argument elicited not only DeLoorean, but also his so-called expert defense. Video and audio tapes revealed DeLoorean's wife's participation in a scheme to save his failing Northern Ireland-based auto firm with \$30 million in cocaine-trafficking profits. But DeLoorean's attorneys succeeded in depicting the call, turned, Detroit-born son of a Ford factory laborer as a victim of a manufactured conspiracy. Only one juror after the verdict. "We say the government acted in this case was not appropriate."

Observers said DeLoorean's acquittal was based on several key factors. He had no previous criminal record. His lawyers skillfully emphasized holes in the government's case. And federal district Judge Robert Dikaneau had pointedly instructed the jury on the legal intricacies

of entrapment. "Without the entrapment," another juror declared after the verdict was delivered, "there would have been a hung jury." The result, legal experts suggested, would likely make federal prosecutors more wary of concocting elaborate sting operations to snare suspected criminals.

When the jury foreman read "not guilty" to the last charge, DeLoorean embraced his wife, father-in-law Christian Ferraro, his mother-in-law and his defense lawyers. Then he held a highly unusual two-hour meeting with the jury in the judge's chambers, and told reporters that he bore no grudges. "I'm pleased it's all over. It's been an absolute horror," he said.

But last week's verdict is not the end of DeLoorean's legal entanglements. A variety of creditors have lodged claims totaling \$300 million against him. One Detroit grand jury is weighing criminal fraud charges. The British government, which loaned millions of dollars to the sports car plant in Northern Ireland, is questioning how DeLoorean spent some of the funds. And DeLoorean owes his defense attorneys, Howard Wehrman and Donald Re, more than \$1 million in fees. To pay his bills, DeLoorean is already negotiating for book and movie rights, while his wife, who wore different outfits almost every day, agreed last week to host a morning television show in Los Angeles. DeLoorean himself wants eventually to return to the auto industry. Said the *Los Angeles Times*: "It's the only thing I know."

—MICHAEL PONTIER in Washington

#### NORTHERN IRELAND

## Executing a deadly mistake

When New York lawyer Martin Galvin, 34, made a 40-second appearance on a Royal Ulster platform in Belfast's Catholic neighborhood of Ardaraught last week, he unleashed a chain of events that plunged Northern Ireland into its worst communal tension in years. Galvin, a publicity director for the U.S. Irish National Aid Committee, which reportedly raises money for the Provisional IRA, had been banned from any part of the United Kingdom. Galvin had challenged the order, and despite intensive search operations by police and troops he eluded detection. But before he could even speak in the rally in Ardaraught, called to mark the 10th anniversary of the introduction of internment for suspected terrorists, heavily armed police moved in. In front of television cameras, the police began firing so-called baton rounds—hard plastic bullets. Galvin successfully escaped, but not before a local Catholic, John Downes, died from a plastic bullet.

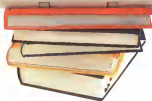
Catholic reaction was swift. Even moderate and pro-union Catholics who had long urged associations of the presence of the provincial Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) as a necessary bulwark against secessionist activity described the force as an inherently anti-Catholic institution. The next day, RUC Chief Constable Sir John Hermon and his senior officers gave a version of events clearly at variance with visiting reporters' eyewitness accounts. Analysis of TV film showed Downes being shot in the chest.

For his part, Britain's secretary for Northern Ireland, James Prior, issued the order excluding Galvin "a bad mistake." Hermon immediately called for an internal investigation into the shooting, but that did little to quell intercommunal fury. Following Downes's death and a controversial trial of Protestant terrorists, riots erupted in Belfast neighborhoods where police found not only gunfire bombs but gunfire as well.

At the week's end the province remained tense. Relations between the two communities are dangerously overstrained. And with media attention focused on Downes's death the killing of two young men suspected of being largely overlooked. They were the 19th and 20th RUC members to be killed in Ulster by either Protestant or Catholic terrorists since 1969. Compared one senior officer recently. "We're the worst in the sandwich."

—KONRAD RUDOLPH in Belfast

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# A big deal for a tiny railway

By Ann Finlayson

Three years ago the Canada Southern was the railway nobody wanted. There were more roads than traffic along its deteriorating 255-km main line, which runs between Niagara Falls and Windsor, Ont. And the failing operation in 1989 was projected to absorb it. But now the tiny railway has become the centre of a controversy which could change the configuration of railway competition in Canada's industrial heartland. This summer the railway's future has been the subject of two

(CFC)—acting in partnership—and the Consolidated Rail Corp. (Conrail) of Philadelphia, Canada Southern's current major owner. Conrail, the giant U.S. government-controlled freight network, which was formed in 1976 from the assets of several bankrupt U.S. railroads, is itself up for sale. CFC's agreement to purchase the line drew immediate objections from other potential buyers, the railway's employees, many local users and the Canadian government's Bureau of Competition Policy.

The Canada Southern, which opened in 1873 and once hauled wood, traffic,

Conrail \$5.2 million for the railway, the Niagara River bridge at Niagara Falls and the railway tunnel to Detroit. That agreement led to the CFC hearings and parallel proceedings at the U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).

Initially, the parties expected the deal set to close in Dec. 31, to be rubber-stamped. But last month the ICC delayed its decision until September. The main reason it had received earlier proposals from two other would-be buyers, the Stroh Brewery group and Cantare, Inc., controlled by Detroit-based entrepreneur Albert Atwell.

In June CFC submitted a three-inch-thick account of Atwell's business background to the U.S. hearings. The document included evidence of a \$347,000 fraud judgment against the entrepreneur in a Texas court in 1981, a debt he has not discharged. And in testimony before the ICC, Atwell himself estimated his total debt at \$3 million. Atwell was unable to satisfy the ICC that he could raise the necessary backing. But, apparently undeterred by his financial and legal misadventures, he then set up a new company, Windsor-based Erie Express Holding Corp., and began to recruit new backers, all the while claiming that the Stroh group had copied his plan to develop the



For the railway that no one wanted three years ago is now eagerly pursued.

months of hearings before the Canadian Transport Commission (CTC). Among those attempting to determine Canada Southern's fate, two giant Canadian transportation multinationals, a U.S. brewing conglomerate, a group of Canadian citizens in league with a controversial American entrepreneur, an Irish group of railway employees and an agency of the federal government. The hearings commenced earlier this month and Sept. 22, with the debate unresolved.

The current Canada Southern controversy began when the CTC, which regulates all rail lines in Canada, opened a routine investigation into an agreement between Canadian National Railways (CN) and Canadian Pacific Ltd.

offered U.S. shippers a shortcut between New York and Chicago as an alternative to going north around Lake Erie. But because of U.S. railway reorganization, combined with the fact that Canada Southern's tunnel between Windsor and Detroit is too small to accommodate modern piggyback container cars and automobile carriers, much of the traffic moved through the United States. By the time Conrail took it over from the bankrupt Erie Central in 1978, Canada Southern was in trouble. Indeed, in 1981 the CTC advised Conrail to improve its service or instead find a buyer who would consent to deal.

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Conrail \$5.2 million for the railway, the Niagara River bridge at Niagara Falls and the railway tunnel to Detroit. That agreement led to the CFC hearings and parallel proceedings at the U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).

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The federal Competition Bureau will

be asked the lively interest in the line is likely to be the hearings argued that determining the best owner for the line depended in part on the outcome of the U.S. Council sale. Said Roy Atkinson of the Bureau's Regulated Sector Branch: "At the very least the CTC should want to decide until we know who is going to own the connecting lines." Atkinson added that the railway could become a third competing system in southern Ontario with common advantages to Canadian shippers in penetrating U.S. markets "on- and off-Canada," he said, "simply want to grab a potential competitive. Fostering doubts about their commitment is the lack of a major capital investment program for the badly needed rail line in CFC's proposals. But co-speakman Michael Matthews denied that the rail giants intend to shut the line down. "Look, there has been no evidence at all that this is so."

The mobility of the CFC-CFC plan makes the Canada Southern's employees suspicious, too. Said David Fox, a St. Thomas clerk: "We know that it is hard for the CTC to turn down two giant Canadian railways wanting to buy a U.S. railway. But their company told us that they plan to close the rail line. They say the documents that contradict what they say. We don't believe what they tell us to believe." The employees' association changed at the hearings that CFC-CFC are mainly interested in the bridge and tunnel properties at either end and would sell off much of the right-of-way to Ontario Hydro. But CFC vice-president George Van de Water told the hearing that CFC has had "no discussions, no thoughts of selling the CFC right-of-way to Ontario Hydro."

Canada Southern's employees, who initially supported the Atwell proposal, have switched their allegiance to Stroh. But, said Fox, most of them still have a list signed for Atwell. "He brought a lot of hope and dreams to this community. He has seen very creative ideas for this railway," he said. Atwell's optimistic thoughts centre on a novel plan to enlarge the Detroit tunnel and to have Canada Southern trains haul complete house trailers to Detroit. "I don't believe that just trailers—along with the plan, he says, would allow operators to avoid high U.S. road taxes and give drivers an eight-hour rest period on long hauls. The Stroh group has also proposed to enlarge the railway tunnel and to develop intermodal terminals—where yards for exchanging freight customers between trains and trucks—near Detroit and Windsor. Whatever the transport consortium's decision, an agreement to the courts seems probable. And that would mean increased uncertainty about the future of a railway line that suddenly, in a very busy demand from very eager buyers.



Ariane 3 Europe may average six a year in the satellite launching business.

## A low-tech route to space

The countdown had to be interrupted three times because of technical problems, but the launch of the European-made rocket Ariane 3 earlier this month was still a moment to celebrate. From its base in the tiny South American country of French Guiana, the annual rocket craft soared over the Atlantic Ocean, where it placed two civilian communications satellites into stationary orbit above the equator. In so doing, the Ariane 3 established Europe as a major force in the United States in the business of launching commercial satellites. "We've shown the world that Europe makes products that work," declared Erik Quignard, the Danish head of the 11-nation European Space Agency which oversees the rocket's development.

The Aug. 4 liftoff was the fifth successful mission in a row by an Ariane rocket, a series that dated memories of two disastrous crashes earlier in the 11-year-old rocket program. "I don't believe that just trailers—along with the plan, he says, would allow operators to avoid high U.S. road taxes and give drivers an eight-hour rest period on long hauls. The Stroh group has also proposed to enlarge the railway tunnel and to develop intermodal terminals—where yards for exchanging freight customers between trains and trucks—near Detroit and Windsor. Whatever the transport consortium's decision, an agreement to the courts seems probable. And that would mean increased uncertainty about the future of a railway line that suddenly, in a very busy demand from very eager buyers.

Paradoxically, the key to Ariane's re-

liability may well be its comparatively primitive technology. Unlike the space shuttle, a reusable vehicle that can carry people into space and back to Earth, the Ariane is a disposable rocket similar to those used to launch the Sputnik and Telstar satellites more than 30 years ago. Indeed, the shuttle in recent months has been plagued with technical problems. But Ariane's makers are convinced that Ariane can put satellites into space more cheaply and accurately than the shuttle, driving Europe a stake in the multibillion-dollar revenues to be earned from the 300 or so satellite payloads expected to be launched in the non-Communist world over the next decade.

Built with revenues of \$26 million to \$30 million per satellite, the Ariane has a long way to go before recouping its \$1.8-billion development costs. Until now European governments have borne most of the expense of the space program, but the recent crash alarm has led them to tighten their belts and look for more private funding. Confident one European space industry analyst last week: "To even begin whittling down the American lead, Europe would need to spend \$1.5 billion a year on research over the next decade. We haven't a hope of succeeding unless our industry starts picking up the biggest tab." But others, including Herbert Curien, France's new minister for research and technology, are more enthusiastic about the space program's potential commercial viability. Declared Curien: "There's no better sales argument than success." —PETER LEWIS in Brussels.



It is not just that the administration is a loose coalition of politicians—and it has produced no policies for all Canadians. Politicians talk about the federal government's ever-growing \$38.5-billion deficit only with reluctance and grief. For all three major parties there is varying degrees taken the position that deficits are economically undesirable and should be eliminated. Then, last week the C.D. Howe Institute, a private Toronto-based economic think tank, released an 86-page report arguing that, whatever party wins the Sept. 16 election, the choice should be made to eliminate deficits to eliminate inflation by about one-third—a proposal that is both politically and economically unrealistic.

The unexpected surprises you. The consistency impresses you. The value delights you.

Many economists argue that the deficit is not a problem and that cutting it could be harmful to the economy.

to avoid those dangers, the C.D. Howe commission recommends that Ottawa curb its spending while boosting investment in specific reconstruction areas, such as bridges, but Carmichael suggests that Ottawa re-examine its outlays for the Armed Forces, regional economic development, and Canadianization incentives for the energy industry. He also contends that spending on health care, social services, unemployment insurance and family allowances could be cut back if benefits were tied to recipients' incomes.

Carmichael says that Ottawa has three options to boost revenues: the most radical is to increase the corporate tax rate, but he says that would be politically unpopular. The remaining prospect is to introduce new taxes—possibly one levied as what consumers spend rather than what they earn, or a value added tax (VAT), essentially a tax on the sale of goods. He has added to a booklet at every stage of its production.

Most politicians seem to agree with Carmichael's stand. Prime Minister John Turner, for example, pledged to trim the deficit by \$1.5 billion in the next five years, but he has not been able to do so. Conservatives say it would be done. Conservatives

To avoid those dangers, the C.D. Howe economic recommendations that Ottawa end its spending while boosting taxes. He avoids making specific recommendations about targets, but Carmichael suggests that Ottawa re-examine its outlays for the Armed Forces, regional economic development, and Canadianization incentives for the energy industry. He also contends that spending on social programs, such as unemployment insurance and family allowances, could be cut back if benefits were tied to individual incomes.

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Most politicians seem to agree with Carmichael's stand. Prime Minister John Turner, for one, pledged to trim the deficit by \$50 billion over the next five to seven years but he offered no specifics as how it would be done. Conservatives

**Leader** Brian Mulroney is equally vague. He said that his government might be the debt rise slightly before beginning to faze it down by an unspecified amount. And while SBC leader Edward Broadbent wants to boost the economy by raising the deficit by another \$1.5 billion during his first year in office, even he pretends to let it fall in the long term.

But many economists contend the deficit is an irrelevant issue, and that attempts to cut it down could backfire. Michael McCracken, the president of International Ltd., an Ottawa-based forecasting firm, declared "There is no empirical evidence that this deficit-to-GDP ratio matters. But there is plenty of evidence to suggest that if you are spending, unemployment will rise and the economy will slow." Myron Gordon, a professor of finance at the University of Toronto, stated that deficit cuts or tax increases "would create great hardship for the people affected and be awful for the economy in general."

The dispute among economists goes beyond whether the deficit is a help or harm to the economy. John McCallum, an economist at the Montreal campus of the University of Quebec, said that the deficit does not even have a significant impact on the nation's interest rates. The cost of borrowing, he claimed, is largely the product of the Bank of Canada's monetary policy.



Correspondence: the experts remain divided.

do's and the federal government's desire to maintain the Canadian dollar at a value relatively in line with its U.S. counterpart. (The government argues that if Canadian interest rates dropped far below those in the United States, investment funds would pour out of Canada.)

McCracken, McCallum and Gordon all agree here, rather than cut back, Ottawa should increase its spending and let the deficit rise. McCracken noted that with 11 per-cent unemployment and only 70 per-cent utilization of factories, the economy could absorb a good deal of government spending programs before inflation set in. An economic spurge, he said, would provide the government with increased tax revenues from improved earnings and the deficit would automatically begin to decrease.

But it is unlikely that the politicians will return to the topic in any detail during the campaign's final days. Toronto's Decima Research, which conducts public polling for the Conservatives, recently asked a group of Canadians what they considered to be the most pressing economic problems. Only two per cent of those interviewed cited the deficit. And while the party leaders may well continue to use the issue as a weapon to attack each other, no one, it seems, has anything to gain by reducing it.

—IAN ADAMS

—IAN ADRIAN

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# Advice that Turner ignored

By Peter C. Newman

Fearful to the establishment elites that have haunted him while he was climbing through its ranks, John Turner may be on the verge of becoming the shortest-term Prime Minister in Canadian history. It need not be so. He has had a chance to lift his stride—but he squandered his natural opening. Early in his run, when Turner was weighing strategy papers from his inner circle, he was handed a lengthy "for your eyes only" memorandum by Senator Joseph Roblin. It was a scathing document that distilled the true nature of the Trudeau coalition which held power for sixteen years, and advised Turner how to perpetuate it by championing Canadian liberals as a reformist, slightly left-of-centre, mid-to-late movement.

Turner heeded, preferring to travel his own version of the political "high-road," which came down to defending the vested interests. He realized his misstep at about the same time that his electoral arguments slipped over his own shoulders. By recruiting Senator Keith Davey, Turner thought he could salvage his campaign without having to resurrect Grabiner's ideological perspectives. It turned out that in Davey, he had hired the right doctor, but until last week he refused to swallow the medicine.

The perpetual insider, Davey made his reputation by winning half a dozen election contracts. Less well known has been his considerable influence on party policy. The late of Walter Gendron, longtime still in a position of political cloak, Davey has always been credited that to retain power, the Liberals must be the agents of social reform and the redistribution of wealth—that is, whenever there are two conservative parties, Davey will vote for the real one.

Davey's sudden renunciation jarred most of John Turner's lieutenants but, for Grabiner, it was vindication of his own strongly held views. The original Grabiner memo literally begged Turner to move toward the centre, warning him that "if your plan is to capture the existing coalition of Liberals and then to add to it, you are doomed," it said. "You are moving in the completely direction that works against your own constituents' interests." Grabiner, who first worked for Turner as an executive assistant, accused the Liberal leader in the memo of "personal pride or prejudice"

for following a course "which will result in fragmentation and splitting the party."

Grabiner's specific complaints about the Turner style of politics included his handling of the language issue, the view that he has become "a damper on provincial rights" (whatever that meant), his "unpleasant attitude" on the Trudeau record, and his objections to Turner's Big Street title. "The Tories are pointing you as an outmoded George Dewey. They are pointing you as more right-wing than Malinvey. They point you as indecisive. They point you as anti-400. They point you as 'anti-minorities.' They point you as the boy from Canadian Pacific and Bay Street. We must not let their point dry."

His partisan fanaticism aside, the memo seriously examined the political realities that exist in this country and how they might be altered. Grabiner pointed out that by moving to the political right, Turner had allowed Brian Mulroney to maneuver from left of the political centre, where the Tories could reach traditional swing voters. The trend toward conservatism in Liberal territories was severely perverted as Mulroney's neo-conservative presented himself as the spiritual heir to Trudeau in Quebec. The memo urged Turner to talk about the federal government as a weapon of last resort ready to confront Big Business, Big Finance, Big Monopolies, Big Labor, Big Banks and Big Oil.

The main message of the document appeared in its long final paragraph, which analyzed current political trends and warned Turner: "If you continue to take a course referring to the right, you will pay for it if there is a downward trend for you in the polls. Of more importance to us both, the Liberal party will pay a much larger price if we allow support to erode, particularly in Quebec. Quebec has stood with the Liberal party because we stood by Quebec. By moving to the right, you allow Mulroney to step into Trudeau's shoes, gaining in Quebec and Ontario and losing support in the East and West. Malinvey is moving in Quebec and with the minorities. But must be stopped."

But John Turner chose to disregard the advice and similar admonitions from other sources. His campaign until very recently, in as much as it has any direction, has been aimed at trying to forge a new Liberal coalition around the notion that government should be run like a giant corporation. The idea may now seem at Winston's, but it doesn't wash where it counts, down on the ground where elections are decided.

Turner, refusing to swallow the medicine

"Thema that have are going to keep it" and "Thema that haven't is going to feel it hard to get."

It was Grabiner's contention, reported by polling data, that Turner's criticisms of Trudeau would be perceived in Quebec as attacks on a living saint. "As Trudeau distances himself from government, he will rise in esteem," he has been quoted as saying. "His post-prime-ministerial perambulations, as much as you might see his help to maintain the Liberal coalition, until we can replace it with a solid Trudeau coalition." To win the election,

Grabiner advised Turner to praise his predecessor, to make sure in a while, to use more of his self-deprecating humor and, above all, to get a heart on his government.

The document, which was circulated only among the leader's immediate advisors, approached matters when Grabiner details his objections to Turner's Big Street title. "The Tories are pointing you as an outmoded George Dewey. They are pointing you as more right-wing than Malinvey. They point you as indecisive. They point you as anti-400. They point you as 'anti-minorities.' They point you as the boy from Canadian Pacific and Bay Street. We must not let their point dry."

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Ocean Ranger, 40, dies last because of bad planning and mist reaction

## TECHNOLOGY

# A preventable tragedy

Two and a half years after the drilling rig Ocean Ranger sank off Newfoundland in a winter storm-killing all 84 on board—there are still major deficiencies in safety arrangements for offshore oil workers. That was the heart of a frank report by the royal commission on the Ocean Ranger Marine Disaster, which the federal and Newfoundland governments released last week. The report depicts a chaotic combination of bad planning and inept reaction on the night of Feb. 14, 1982, when the rig sank in a tragedy that, it says, could have been prevented if the companies and agencies involved had done their jobs properly. Although Ottawa has already implemented one-third of the commission's 66 recommendations, the report states that "a great deal still remains to be done."

The commission, which began its 22 months of hearings in October, 1982, under the chairmanship of Alexander Hickman, chief justice of the Newfoundland Supreme Court, blamed a "chain of events" for the striking of the \$20-million Ocean Ranger, then the world's largest floating rig. Among contributing factors were a severe storm, design faults and errors by a badly trained crew. Blaming the conclusion of two earlier U.S. reports on the disaster, the commission said the prob-

lem began when a wave broke a port-hole on the rig's stern centre, the ballast control room, sucking the electrical controls that kept the vessel afloat in the water.

As a result, four hours later the control panel malfunctioned and allowed water to surge into one of the two pipeline underwater pipelines that supported the rig. When the Ocean Ranger then began to tip forward, untrained crewmen tried to correct the alarming list, but instead made it worse. As the rig leaned into the sea, water rushed inside

through openings in two anchor chain compartments. By 1:30 a.m. on Feb. 15, roughly 5½ hours after the control centre port-hole had broken, the crew began to abandon ship. But one of the four lifeboats was already underwater, and, lacking the protection of cold-water survival suits, all hands perished.

The commission blamed the rig's U.S. owner, New Brunswick-based Cogeco, and its captain, Melville C. Canada Inc., for a series of lapses, including ignor-

ing regulations, training crewmen inadequately and not providing survival suits. The panel also censured that the Canadian Oil and Gas Lease Administration (COGLA), the federal agency that oversees petroleum exploration off the East Coast, and the provincial Petroleum Directorate relied on the U.S. Coast Guard and American Bureau of Shipping to enforce safety standards, which they failed to do. The commission also criticized federal search and rescue forces, Melville's shore-based officials and the rig's Japanese builder, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries.

Since the Ocean Ranger tragedy, the government has introduced the requirements that regulatory both survival suits to provide protection for crewmen abandoning ship even in the winter and a lifeboat capacity equal to twice the crew complement. Owners now must also evacuate their rigs if a large storm is looming. But there are still glaring holes in the safety system. Both levels of government acknowledge that the main drawback is that even modern Fiberglas lifeboats cannot withstand the buffeting involved in a heavy-sea launch from a listing rig.

Indeed, many of the facilities of Ocean Ranger victims remain unanswered that the rigs have no guard rails even since the tragedy. Basil Macgregor Blackmore, chairman of the Ocean Ranger Families Foundation: "You have been a real shift in attitudes of the governments and the oil operators since the Ranger?" We are skeptical that there has been "All but four of the 86 families of Newfoundland victims have reached out-of-court legal settlements with the rig's owners and operators, but now many are wondering if they acted too hastily." The long litany of neglect spelled out in the report is disgusting," said Blackmore, a mother of those whose husband died on the Ocean Ranger. "The anger we feel toward the companies named in the report defies description, and we feel betrayed by both the federal and provincial governments. We condemn them all for their neglect."

The commission is due to report again next spring, when it will make more recommendations for improving safety in the offshore oil business generally. But one commission member, Melville C. Canada Inc., for a series of lapses, including ignor-

—MICHAEL CLOUTIER  
St. John's

Blackmore helped



PHOTO BY GUY WATSON FOR THE GLOBE AND MAIL



Gimbel (foreground) with decayed bandits; discovery of the safe was uneventful

## ADVENTURE

# A descent into hype

Like the Titanic, the *Andrea Doria* was widely believed to be unsinkable. But barely three years after its maiden voyage, en route from New York to July, 1956, a Swedish cruise ship rammed the majestic 330-foot liner 280 miles east of New York, and it went down in 300 feet of water, killing 56 passengers. For Peter Gimbel, a then-26-year-old New York department store heir, the desire of revealing the tragedy's cause and recovering a reputed fortune from two of the *Doria*'s 15 safes became an obsession and lasting obsession. A quarter-century later, in 1981, Gimbel launched a salvage operation to probe the *Doria*'s mystery and recover the two safes. Last week, in a sometimes anticlimactic production broadcast live to 40 nations, Gimbel revealed to the world what he had learned about the secrets of the *Andrea Doria*—and all the things he did not find.

The documentary side of the story, told in an off-air dramatic 67-minute film on the expedition, was by far the most intriguing part of the heavily promoted two-hour show on NBC-TV and one independent Canadian station, Toronto's CITY-TV. Gimbel had spent \$10 million to acquire an elaborate salvage vessel, the *Sea Level II*, and hire a crew of world-class divers. Their travels aboard the mother ship, in an accident-prone five-day ball, had, most strikingly, ended the dark and tangled entrails of the *Doria* itself, uncovered powerfully the sheer danger of deep-sea salvage.

The discovery of the safe, extracted

from mounds of rubble, was exhilarating. So was the revelation that the cause of the *Doria*'s sinking was not a failed butch that let the sea into its generator room and cut its power, but a previously undetected 84-foot breach in the hull itself. But the live on-camera opening of the 7,000-lb safe—united since 1961 by U.S. Customs—was something else again. Blasted by George Plimpton, the author after at Disney Island aquarium was an anticlimax: there simply was not much booty. And when a thunderous demand on the spectacle, some members of the roughly 300 VIP guests shouted, "Close the safe, it's the curse of the *Andrea Doria*."

Once the main thrust, several hundred of waterlogged currency worth no more than a few thousand dollars fasted from the depths of the safe. Most of the undisturbed amount of money was in small denominations of U.S. notes which worried treasure and bankers for 25 years. There were none of the legendary bags of diamonds and rubies that Gimbel—despite the doubts of surviving passengers and marine salvage experts—had publicly speculated might be stored in the ship's safe. And Gimbel's quest, far from solving the mystery of the *Doria*, may actually raise two new questions. The first is whether somehow managed during the possibly 11 hours of the ship's sinking to lose the safe as bait. The second is the fate of the network executive who agreed to broadcast what amounted to a poorly produced monologue to Peter Gimbel's ego. —LENN GROSS in New York

## SKIN

# Skin from test tubes

The appalling fire erupted accidentally when James and Glen Selby, aged 6 and 7, were playing with paint solvent at their home in Cuper, Wyo., in June, 1983. The children suffered third-degree burns to more than 80 percent of their bodies, and doctors in Denver, Colo., where they were flown, gave them virtually no chance to survive. But, as a last resort, the doctors flew the boys to the Shriners Burns Institute in Boston, part of the Massachusetts General Hospital, where surgeons were treating a new process of growing human skin in laboratory flasks, then grafting it onto their wounds. Within two months of their arrival at the institute, half of each boy's body was covered with the new "test tube" skin, grown from tiny cultures of their own healthy skin. Now James and Glen have recovered almost completely. Dr. Gregory Gallico, one of the surgeons who conducted the operations, said late last week after announcing the breakthrough: "It was their only hope for survival. We had to do it. Anything would have."

Gallico and a colleague, Dr. Nicholas O'Connor, a native of Kingston, Ont., and a graduate of Montreal's McGill Medical School, have been experimenting with small grafts of cultured skin since 1973. The test-tube skin comes from the Harvard Medical School laboratory operated by Dr. Howard Green, another transplanted Canadian who was born and educated in Toronto. But the Boston team never attempted such minute grafts before. They made the decision to try the technique, however, because neither of the Selbys had enough healthy skin left to directly supply grafts for all their wounds. Said O'Connor: "They had no skin to spare, so we had to grow it a try."

The surgical team first removed tiny samples of the boys' remaining healthy skin from their armpits and groins. Within three weeks, Green had produced "thaps" of tissue as much as called "cultured epithelium" in his lab. His process involved mixing the original cells and placing them in flasks containing treated cells from mice, similar to those found beneath human skin. Additional including steroids, chicken sera, and vitamin produced the dramatic multiplication of cells. Said Gallico: "We went from a postage stamp to a

large desktop in three weeks."

The doctors then removed the cultured skin from the flasks and transferred it to pads of gauze, each roughly the size of a playing card. They performed "box or dress" operations on each of the Selbys' boys to secure the three sheets of tissue in place, and Gallico. In addition, the boys received conventional burn care, including operations to cut away dead tissue, temporary grafts from cadavers and collecting "autografts" from areas of their own bodies that had healed sufficiently since the accident. Altogether, they have undergone more than 25 operations each and still face extensive plastic surgery. James has already been back to school in Denver briefly but has returned to Boston for more treatment. But their recovery has proceeded so well that both boys are expected to leave the burn center in six months.

The delighted medical team explained at a news conference last week that there was no rejection problem because the substance is made from samples of the patient's own skin. The cultured skin often has a better appearance than most conventional autografts. Said Gallico: "The doctor's face lightened up. The skin melts very smoothly. To me it looks wonderful, absolutely gorgeous." Still, the boys' new skin has to wait glands or later infection and lacks a normal layer that provides immunity and elasticity. And because the cultured material is usually thin, "the boys will always have to wear a blocking lotion when they go out in the sun," said O'Connor. "And when they fall down or scrape a knee, it will take longer to heal."

Gallico and O'Connor had previously performed eight small test-tube skin grafts, but it was not until the Selby operations that they were satisfied that the technique would be effective in treating victims of massive burns. Now, they said, they are ready to try it again. Both Gallico and O'Connor credited Green with providing the essential scientific advance—the technique for growing cultures and the means to accelerate the growth rapidly. By any account, the Boston team still has a long way to go. Gallico said that doctors at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children encouraged in experiments with similar techniques. Dr. Russell Zuker, director of the hospital's burn unit, began grafting cultured skin on burn victims in 1978 but was puzzled the experiment's because infections were destroying the grafts. Said Zuker: "Growing the skin was never a problem. The problem was preparing the base on the patient sufficiently so that bacteria would not destroy the grafts." The doctors are now in a "wait and see" phase. It is a major advance. —JOHN BARNES



Smith ensuring that church leadership does not stray from the grassroots

## RELIGION

# Affirming the status quo

Since the 1960s, Canada's largest Protestant church, the two-million-member United Church of Canada, has led Canadian churches in the advocacy of controversial causes, including its defense of therapeutic abortion and support for the rights in Nicaragua. But conservative worshippers and ministers from the line last week at the church's 30th General Council meeting in Marston, Mass., when delegates rejected a recommendation to allow the ordination of self-declared homosexuals. Said outgoing church moderator Vary Rev. Charles MacDonald: "Officially, the church has gone as far as it can go. I believe that there is a sense of relief."

An internal church report released last March which recommended homosexual ordination had prompted an unprecedented grassroots opposition within the church, and in Marston's sweltering hotbox arena 128 km south-west of Winnipeg, the 250-member council decided that the church's activism wing had moved too far. After a protracted debate the council voted overwhelmingly to maintain the status quo—a decision that failed to satisfy totally people as either side of the issue. In effect, the church decided to deflect the potentially explosive issue. The council passed a new set of resolutions that affirmed existing ordination procedures, which make no mention of sexual orientation for either male or female candidates, and also elected to begin an intensive study on "the culture of sexual orientation and practice." The decision

averted the threat of a major split within the church, which anti-homosexual members and ministers had predicted if the March recommendation passed.

Rev. Wesley Clarke of London, Ont., who backed the conservative 3,000-member Reform Fellowship's campaign to reject the proposal, said that he was "astounded" that the council failed to ban homosexual ordination outright. Said Clarke: "There is going to be a lot of anger about this. The church at the grassroots has spoken unequivocally on this issue. They have done everything in their power to say no."

Supporters of gay ordination were less critical of the decision than Clarke. Rev. Elliott Frensdorff, United Church chaplain at the University of Toronto and spokesman for women, the national network of housewives within the church, called it "a statement rather than a setback." Said Frensdorff: "The decision closes the door to any potential witchhunts, and we were relieved that they might happen."

AFTER and its supporters also took some consolation from the election of Right Rev. Robert Smith, 58, as the church's new moderator. Although he expressed agreement with the decision not to ordain homosexuals, Smith is a supporter of homosexual rights. He acknowledged, however, that one of the lessons of last week's confrontation is that one of his principal challenges will be to ensure that church leadership does not stray too far from the concern of the membership. —JOHN BARNES with Dean Shuler in Marston

**F**armer B.C. New Democratic Party leader **Dave Barrett**, 55, whose life in the legislature last year ended unceremoniously when two members of the neo-fascist-at-arms staff carried him out of the chamber in Victoria, and dropped him in the corridor because he refused to obey the acting speaker in the middle of an all-night sitting, launched a new career as host of Barrett, Vancouver's new open-line radio talk show Barrett resigned his seat and the NDP leadership last spring after losing three elections in a row. After 31 years in politics, three of them as premier, Barrett seen himself as a **Don Quixote**. "I have been tilting at windmills all my life," he said, "except for a brief period when we had power." Still betraying his now-forgedness, Barrett interrupted a San Diego vacation with his wife, **Barley**, to talk to the newscasters three weeks earlier than scheduled in order to sit-test political leaders in his morning



Barrett, Tennant (below) but doesn't see a rising Rolero in '89.

show during the election campaign. None of them had signed on last week, and Barrett opened instead with author **Plano Barlow**, who is promoting his new book, *The Promised Land*. Characteristically stinky in his first interview, Barrett seemed prancing Rod Rolero: "You have to mention the title of the book and its publisher. That's the deal we made." Confessed Barrett: "I was nervous in the first hour."

**I**t has been five years since **Bo Derek**, 27, became a media event after director **Blake Edwards** exposed her considerable charms in the movie *10*. Riding on a high-publicity wave whipped up by *Bo's* husband, **John**, the Derks started making their own movies. *Baron's* *Big Appearances* in 1981, which made \$16 million, and *Rolero*, due out Aug. 31. *Rolero* is causing a new groundswell of publicity because of a dispute between the Derks and the Canine Group Inc. over how much of *Bo* is too much. Canine is the company that took over *Rolero's* distribution after MGM UA pronounced the film too strong for public consumption. Canine sent it onto the circuit without a rating—leaving theatre owners open to possible problems with local morality groups. This week the Ontario Board of Censors, the bellwether for the rest of the country, will pass a judgment on *Rolero*. Meanwhile, **John Derek** drew widespread rumors that he and his current wife (**Bo**)

followed **Linda Evans** and **Ursula Andress** were having marital troubles. Said Derek: "We have 100-per-cent togetherness, which is fabulous for us, but I guess it's a pain to read about it." And *Rolero*, Derek added, "is not a dirty picture. Let the public be the judge."

**A**ctress **Victoria Tennant**, 33, daughter of a theatrical agent father and a business mother, grew up in a show business world but retired from it in 1971 when she married Swiss-born nightclub singer **Peppo Versa**. Divorced,

she returned to play in a succession of projects, including *The Winds of War* as Pamela Tudbury opposite **Robert Mitchum**. Currently she plays a stablehand's daughter in *All of Me* with **Steve Martin** and **Lily Tomlin** and is starring in the movie version of **Robert Ludlum's** suspense thriller *The Morning's* *Conquest*, in production with **Michael Caine** and **Anthony Andrews**. Right, sought after and happier than ever, Tennant declared with characteristic ambivalence: "I want to work until I am 196."



Barrett, sitting on radio

**S**outh-buster **Pete Rose**, the man who earned his nickname "Charlie Hustle" by diving head-first into first, did home last week to become player-manager of his hometown **Cincinnati Reds**. At 43, the once and future Cincinnati Kid still has his hustle and his ego. *The Montreal Star* traded the 23-year major-league veteran, and Cincinnati club president **Robert Montgomery** says Rose will re-

new the Reds, now second-last in the National League's West Division. For his part, Rose still dreams about surpassing **Ty Cobb's** 1926 record of 4,191 hits (Rose needs 123), which is why he is content on becoming a playing manager. Said Rose: "I'm convinced I can still hit. I'm just like everybody else. I have two arms, two legs—and 4,000 hits." As well, he added with understated modesty, "I probably know more about baseball than any other manager."

—EDITED BY BETTE LINDERGREN

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## Soothing savage breasts

It is background music with creative content. Music for the serious and the spiritual. Serene and wordless, its flute, string, synthesizer and nature sounds are soft and beguiling. And, without the benefit of reggae radio airplay or the involvement of major record companies, it is finding an audience: the

"New Age Music" music industry last year earned \$39 million in the United States. In Canada, where a \$500,000 business has sprung up in less than two years, mass-market recording companies are now entering the New Age Music field. In the first six months that it has been distributing the U.S.-based

Wooden Hill label, Toronto-based *AAW Records of Canada Ltd.* has already rung up sales of more than \$300,000. *AAW's* national publicity manager, James Morano, "Those numbers show us for a loop."

Record retailers interpret the figures as a sign of shifting musical tastes—tasteless, adrenalin-producing pop to music that complements earnest interest in stress reduction. When, on a whim, Victoria flutist Paul Horn recorded the haunting echoes of his instrument in Iceland's Reykjavik 15 years ago, he had no idea that he was anticipating a trend. The album, *Heaven*, has become his largest seller—an impressive 500,000 copies.

San Francisco musician Steven Halpern can also claim credit for helping to launch New Age Music. A PhD in clinical psychology, Halpern started his own company, Halpern Sound, in 1974 when he could not find other sources for melodies that would relax participants in his music workshops. His 12-album *Audi-Prime Alternative* series has become the basis of a \$1.5-billion annual business. Halpern's grooves are often forgettable compositions but they include bold musical experiments. *The Rime of Solwe* (1981) incorporates the pulsating sounds of interstellar music picked up by the Voyager spacecraft. Now, established musicians including English composer-professor Brian Eno, who has worked with David Bowie, and former Japanese rock star Kitano are experimenting with the form.

With its mixture of soothing sounds and serious artists, New Age Music is one of the music industry's most non-grunge growth stories. Canada's largest distributor, *one Recordings of Calgary*, entered the business 18 months ago and has already sold 10,000 tapes. And whenever stress therapists prescribe its use, those sales will continue to climb. Bill Day, founder of Toronto's Relaxation Response Centre, told *MusicWeek*, "We use nothing but this music because on bedside-loud equipment you can actually see the results in a change in bioelectric patterns."

Still, despite the claims its proponents make for New Age Music, few music critics take it seriously, and even its leading practitioners agree that many recordings are critically mediocre. Sam Horn, "There are a few artists out there who are just looking for an audience that perhaps doesn't know any better. But what else is new?" What is new is that a growing group of record buyers is looking for an alternative to musical aggression. That fact is giving executives of rock-based record companies a personal motive to seek solace in a few soothing hours of New Age Music.

—PAUL McGRATH,  
with Nicholas Ventrone

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# HP SAUCE

## Cutting down on smoke

The newly documented dangers of secondhand cigarette smoke have recently become a potent weapon in the arsenal of antismoking groups. The assurance by U.S. surgeon general C. Everett Koop last May that smoking presents a health hazard to nonsmokers was based on substantial research. A

1982 study at Emory University in Atlanta estimated that between 28,000 and 50,000 Americans die each year from the effects of inhaling "passive" smoke wafting from other people's cigarettes—in mouths, hands or ashtrays. Then, in mid-July, a Canadian tobacco company responded by introducing the world's

first cigarette that produces less secondhand smoke. Toronto-based Rothmans of Pall Mall Canada Limited claims that its new cigarette produces 45 per cent less waste smoke than a standard cigarette. Although acknowledging carcinogens immediately attached and dissolved the new Passport brand, Rothmans is counting on it to stimulate lagging sales and relieve the mounting social pressure against smoking.

Rothmans president Robert Howes said that the new cigarette's "Smoke Control System" relies on specially developed cigarette paper and filter. Many of the solid smoke particles that the cigarette would normally emit are trapped in the paper. When the smoker draws on the cigarette, the particles pass down to the filter, which collects and holds them.

Howes said that the system took two years of research and \$1.5 million to develop at Rothmans' Toronto laboratories. The company launched the project in response to market research showing that smokers want a cigarette that generates fewer complaints from people nearby. Limited sales of the new brand, which costs the same as normal cigarettes, began in June at the London, Ont., area, where they will be restricted at least until mid-August while Rothmans gauges consumer reaction.

But antismoking activists object to the development. Donald Lewis, executive director of the Canadian Council on Smoking and Health, said that even a 40-per-cent reduction leaves too much secondhand smoke in the air. Said Lewis, "Secondhand smoke contains more toxic products because it is made at a lower temperature." Added Les McKinnell, health education co-ordinator for the Canadian Lung Association, "This is just a different way of trying to market the same dangerous product." For his part, Howes defended the product, which contains a moderate 12 mg of tar and 1.1 mg of nicotine. Defending the idea, "People will continue to smoke, and we are in the business of providing cigarettes. So let us provide them with one they find more acceptable, either for themselves or for their friends."

Rothmans' spokesmen acknowledge that the company is looking for a major improvement in its profits when the new cigarette is widely distributed. Even in a tobacco market that sold five per cent fewer cigarettes in 1983 than in 1982, Rothmans' market share has declined to 52 per cent from 54.5 per cent in four years. Its profits on tobacco sales declined by 6.6 per cent in 1983 and continued to slip in the first quarter of 1984. And antismoking activists contend that those figures and others like them are positive signs that their campaign is succeeding. Said Lewis, "They are feeling the heat." —David S. H. H.

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IDEAS

## The bright side of the nuclear bomb

By Barrie Hale

**A**voiding nuclear war has become a subject of constant political debate, but until recently the anti-nuclear movement has shared at least one common assumption: the bomb is bad. Now a new and apparently contradictory theory argues against nuclear war but holds that the bomb itself is a force for good because it unites people against the use of its explosive power. Prof. Derrick de Kerkhove, 46, co-director of the University of Toronto's McLuhan Program in Culture and Technology, wrote in the Toronto Globe and Mail that the atomic bomb is "the crowning glory of the Industrial Age." In *The New York Times* in February, he declared: "I am absolutely delighted that the bomb is here. It is about time we had something to live on together."

De Kerkhove's controversial views have earned him notoriety among anti-nuclear activists and attracted the interest of three U.S. publishers in his forthcoming book, *Nuclear Man*. In it, de Kerkhove will elaborate on his pessimistic belief that the bomb will act as the impetus for man's next step up the evolutionary ladder. A disciple of the late Marshall McLuhan, de Kerkhove has expressed his thoughts most fully in *On Nuclear Communication*, a paper he read at the Conference on Nuclear Criticism at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., in April. In it, de Kerkhove said that "There is nothing unthinkable about the nuclear threat. There is nothing inevitable about it, either. Our job is precisely to stop covering in apocalyptic clouds and go to the end of our thinking."

That thinking, de Kerkhove pointed out, is still characterized by the 1945 reaction to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki: of "shock, naming, denial, fear, helplessness and suspicion." Instead, he argued, mankind should use the bomb as a reality of the bomb to educate itself "to a new level of social maturity."

De Kerkhove contends that the bomb's use as a global education rests in its power to force all human beings, including the strategic planners of both superpowers, to think alike. De Kerkhove said McLuhan's that "the idea of a bomb that could eliminate us all tomorrow is inspiring a great sense of unity and togetherness." As examples of growing "planetary consciousness," he cited earlier signs of peaceful behaviour such as the opening ceremonies of the Los Angeles Olympic Games, where 80,000 people

joined together in a dance. He added that the new thinking is creating a groundwork of optimistic opinion that will force politicians throughout the world to abandon outmoded political agendas in favor of "new priorities," including superpower collaboration to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. And as the new, bomb-inspired unity of thought takes hold, he said, the bomb itself will become increasingly less important until ultimately "the arsenal dissolves."

De Kerkhove's novel views on global politics have found little support in the antinuclear movement. James Stark, for

the directorship of the McLuhan program. His own thinking mirrors McLuhan's conviction that "every technology changes us." He stressed the importance of mass media in society, de Kerkhove has concentrated on studying the effects of living in the shadow of imminent nuclear holocaust.

The next step in de Kerkhove's research will be a study of the bomb's effect on the human nervous system and its potential role as a factor in evolution. He acknowledges that there is currently "absolutely no evidence" to support such speculation, but he claims that there has been a positive reaction to his



De Kerkhove will discuss lessons learned from the nuclear bomb help to unite mankind?

one, director of the 6,000-member, Ottawa-based peace group Operation Dismantle, described de Kerkhove's theories as "intellectual gymnastics of an unpalatable variety." Added Barrie, "I would like him to be right, but I think his message discourages the kind of action that is the only possible engine for change, and that is massive and persistent public pressure." De Kerkhove's view that the nuclear bomb is its own worst enemy and will eventually destroy itself, according to Stark, "is magical and fanciful."

De Kerkhove has succeeded in gaining more attention than understanding for his views. Born in Belgium, de Kerkhove has lived in Toronto since 1965 and has taught in the University's French department since 1967, a job that is still held in conjunction with

inquiries with the scientific community. James Stark, discoverer of the first effective polio vaccine and a prominent antinuclear critic, declared that there is none more in de Kerkhove's views. Said Stark, "I certainly agree that the bomb has a unifying effect. It brings together and unifies the protective forces for life, and that is a stimulus to the next step in human evolution." Added Dr. William Tishon, director of the U of T's prestigious Playfair Neuroscience Unit, "He is proposing a very interesting, plausible theory, which we do not now have the evidence to support." He also cautioned against dismissing radical views because they are unpopular. Said Tishon, "If we discourage the de Kerkhoves, whose thinking is way out there in the beyond, we really disadvantage our society." □



# A writer's resurrection

A VERY PRIVATE EYE

By Barbara Pym  
(Greenhills, 355 pages, \$29.95)

In 1976, at the age of 63, Barbara Pym was among Britain's more obscure writers. Unmarried and in poor health, she had published six novels between 1950 and 1961, but all were out of print and none had ever appeared in paperback. Then, in the first week of January, 1977, Britain's most important literary journal, *The Times Literary Supplement*, printed a survey of the most underrated authors of the century. Two men—the poet Philip Larkin and the critic Lord David Cecil—chose Pym. Cecil described her novels *Excellent Women* and *A Glass of Bénédictine* as “the finest examples of high society to have appeared in England during the past 75 years.” Suddenly, shy, reticent, unseen, scorned, to disappointment, found herself fashionable. Four more novels—three previously unpublished, one new—quickly appeared in Britain, and her reputation spread to the United States. Pym died of cancer three years

later, at 66. But as her clear-eyed, unimpeachable letters and diaries collected in *A Very Private Eye* demonstrate, the belated recognition gave her final years a sense of meaning that enabled her to face a painful death with equanimity.

Pym's fiction resonates with a significance beyond its provincial settings. Her

**Barbara Pym wrote  
‘the finest examples of  
high comedy to have  
appeared in England  
in the past 75 years’**

world seems on the surface a very restricted one, which she herself described as “bounded by English literature and the Anglican church and small pleasures like sewing and choosing dress material for the uncertain summer.” *A Very Private Eye* shows that although Pym moved easily in such an environment, she also knew experiences of a

very different sort. As a student at Oxford in the early 1930s, she enjoyed a few flamboyant love affairs. In the prewar years she scattered much of her energy on unpublished works, unrequited passion and unfulfilling travel. “My whole life,” she once observed, “seems to be spent sitting in stations all over Europe leaving behind the people I love.”

The Second World War put an end to Pym's carefree pattern. She became a government censor, supervising private letters sent abroad—a glimpse into thousands of ordinary lives that offered excellent material for a novelist. Her greatest stroke of luck came in 1946, when she joined the International African Institute in London, becoming a visiting editor of its anthropological journal, *Africa*. The job freed her from financial worries and gave her access to vast numbers of societies, when she started writing again her fictional style had crystallized into a genre of calm detachment. Pym had already composed letters that show a sardonic distancing from her own life. “Have we a right to be happy? We have no rights,” said Barbara in a letter to her mother. “Then she turned her thoughts into fiction on the stark views and virtues of middle-class England.”

The result was a series of astute, deceptively mild novels that earned Pym a modest reputation, a steady income and a band of loyal readers. But in 1963 her publisher rejected her seventh novel, *An Unwearable Antidote*, claiming that the potential market was too small. Other firms made similar judgments. Although Pym maintained an amused irony about her fate as a writer, rejection hurt her deeply. Pym had already taken her early retirement, haunted by breast cancer and a stroke, when the advocacy of Larkin and Cecil led new readers—and publishers—to discover her writing. Characteristically, she reacted to success by working harder than ever; she revised her last novel, *A Few Green Leaves*, on her deathbed in 1969.

Throughout her adult life Pym wrote numerous diaries and letters, from which her sister, Hilary, and her literary executor, Hans Holt, assembled *A Very Private Eye*. Like her novels, it contains a host of vignettes that seem comically English, such as a Cretan “Protection League” held in a cathedral hall, where lovely men and women drink lukewarm tea from pink plastic cups. The book also displays ample evidence of Pym's tendency to mingle great and tiny issues. “Does the road wind uphill all the way?” I asked myself, waiting for lullaby to bed tonight. “There is never any time to brood on an answer, one has to make the tea. To appreciate *A Very Private Eye*, the reader has to realize that Barbara Pym herself and take delight in the best, treasury pleasures of the world.” —MARK ABURY

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## More naked and more dead

**TOUGH GUYS DON'T DANCE**

By Norman Mailer  
(*Harvard Review*, 200 pages, \$20.00)

It works ranging from *The American* of the Night to *Mercury*, Norman Mailer has revealed his darkest obsessions—America and himself. Both share extensive histories of emotional and sexual conflict, and Mailer has rarely documented them so forcefully as in his latest novel, *Thoug' Guys Don't Dance*. Writing in the classic private eye tradition, Mailer weaves a bloody tapestry of murder and sexual profligacy. Despite unforfeitable leonardness, tedious digressions and outrageous lapses of taste, his portrait of the American madman in torment plots seared scenes of proper behavior and ethical conduct. The setting of Mailer's novel is in blatantly mythical—Provincetown, Cape Cod, the place where the Pilgrims fathers first set foot in America. The narrator is Tim Madden, a 40-year-old, hard-drinking writer whose life story, including a brief boxing career and a drug conviction, loosely parallels Mailer's own. Madden's wife, Patty Larenson, has disappeared, leaving him to the meridian of liquor and marijuana—both of which he shares with Alvin Karpis, Regency, the actor

police chief. But when several heads turn up in his marijuana cache after a night of sleazebag-induced amnesia, Madden is forced to confront the possibility of being murderer or a murderer—or both.

As he and Regency wrily circle each other, Mailer slowly reveals that almost everybody around him, including Patty's ex-husband, and his own former lover, Madeleine, could commit murder out of just far power or revenge. But each also harbors enough latent psychosis to commit heinous violence as well. The psychic hole that suffices for action further blurs the line between the innocent and the guilty: everyone takes serious seriously, and Madden himself is plagued by premonitions of the future and the ghosts of previous ones who once inhabited his house.

But Mailer transforms his debauched thriller into a provocative analysis of America's mass pathology. Looking beyond the scenery, the occupations and



Mailer: sexual ladykiller

a time when pornography has paradoxically made the treatment of sex and violence either banal or taboo, *Thoug' Guys* defies and explains disturbing territory.

—MARK CHAPPEL

sexes, including Larenson and Regency, are sexual evildoers in America's colonial past. The Salem witch hunts, the beheading of King Charles I and the regency of the puritan Oliver Cromwell—a spiritual ancestor to Regency who describes himself as both an enforcer and a maniac. For Mailer, the dismembered state but, describes America—"a country forever divided into two halves," especially in sexual matters. In the end, Madden does escape from the labyrinth of his sexual past and returns to Madeleine—but she is terrible.

For all its ambitions and startling insights, *Thoug' Guys* is a badly imbalanced work. The aggressive plot straddles too quickly for ready comprehension, while Mailer vacillates maddeningly between acquiring credibility as a character and providing a mouthpiece for Mailer Mailer, at a time when pornography has paradoxically made the treatment of sex and violence either banal or taboo, *Thoug' Guys* defies and explains disturbing territory.



Walker: lengthy investment coverage and interests turn into artists' studios

### PUBLISHING

## Advent of an arts voice

For a year, Canada has lacked a national arts magazine—ever since the demise of two publications, *Artforum* and *Artmagazine*. Several national art criticism journals have tried to gain national readership but last week a glossy, boldly designed newcomer—*Canadian Art*—appeared. Unlike its competitors, including Vancouver's *Harvest* and the Montreal-based *Parade*, the new 88-page quarterly aims at a broad audience, according to editor Susan Walker. With an initial price run of \$2.00, *Canadian Art's* 12-page first issue includes a cover story on little-known Winnipeg painter Wanda Koop, a photo essay on the studies of 30 famous Canadian artists, including Alex Colville and Mary Pratt, and a six-page section, "Art and Money," on the art market. Reader response was mixed. Declared Toronto gallery owner Chris Tanoff, a former director of *Artmagazine* and an advocate of the new publication, "It looks like a gossip magazine. But to doubt it will be a success."

High production costs and limited subscriber appeal usually make arts magazines dependent on corporate and government support. But Walker predicted that *Canadian Art* would attract 25,000 subscribers within two years that

—more than double that of its magnificently profitable predecessor, *Artmagazine*. In addition, *Canadian Art* has two strong backers: it is a joint project of the Toronto-based Key Publishers and Maclean's House Ltd., which publishes Maclean's. But *Canadian Art*, with a \$500,000 annual budget, still hopes for funding from the Canada Council, for which it will be eligible after publishing three issues. Said Michael de Praetere, president of Key Publishers: "We don't imagine it ever making money."

Some members of the arts community criticized the first issue for its commercial, establishment tone. Diana Neufeld, assistant curator of contemporary art at the National Gallery in Ottawa, said the magazine failed to deal with new developments in artistic thought and artists' political concerns. And Gerald Ferguson, head of the studio division of Halifax's Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, doubted that it would "appeal to the harder art community."

Walker's plans may simply be critics. Scheduled for the next issue, due Nov. 14, is an article on the avant-garde arts scene in Vancouver. And a subsequent article on artists' tax problems could convince artists that a vision with a commercial tone may also speak for them. —ANN WALMSLEY

## Selling books by poll booth

On March 16, John Turner set his Toronto law office going on an exclusive interview to Toronto Star reporter Jack Cahill. The next day, hours after Turner announced that he would run for the federal Liberal leadership, Cahill signed a publishing contract with the Toronto-based publishing house McClelland & Stewart for Turner's biography. The deal would give Cahill what he calls "an advance well into five figures"—indeed, insiders think it is about \$35,000—if Turner won the leadership. If Turner lost, Cahill would receive only half that amount, which the publisher would probably never recoup. The book, *John Turner: The Long Run*, appeared on Aug. 26 and is expected to sell briskly—until the Sept. 4 election. Then, even if the Progressive Conservatives swept to power, the publishing company has hedged its bets, it is also waiting to release a biography of Brian Mulroney in early October.

The story behind both books is a tale in its own right, and mirrors the political preferences of the book-buying public. Political books, especially those on leaders, can be immensely popular in Canada. In 1978 Joe Clark's *A Portrait*, by David Humphreys, sold 12,000 copies, a significant figure in a country where baroque sales of 5,000 mark a best seller. Gambling that Turner would be a major subject of interest this year, Cahill began background work even before prime minister Pierre Trudeau resigned on Feb. 20. As well, Cahill convinced Turner to give him 30 hours of taped interviews, compared to the eight hours Trudeau gave George Radwanski for Trudeau's another 1978 biography that sold well.

As a result, Turner contains unexpected new information about its subject. The book talks how in 1965 he saved John Diefenbaker from drowning when the two men happened to be vacationing in Barbados as Trudeau's prime minister. Cahill reveals that shortly before former prime minister Lester Pearson died, Pearson implied that he regretted passing the Liberal torch to Trudeau and not Turner. As well, the book paints a vivid, convincing picture of the split between Trudeau and Pearson, showing it to be much more personal and ideological than the public has so far known.

Still, that material would have been of little interest to readers if Turner had lost the leadership race, and the book's commercial value would have been reduced. Indeed, Cahill is already showing it to be much more personal and ideological than the public has so far known. "But I felt sure he would win," said



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Cahill, "no took a gamble." The gamble paid off when Turner won, M&S doubled the size of Cahill's advance. Another gamble awaited. "All of us thought that after winning the [academy] Turner would call the general election for the winner," recalled Cahill. But not expecting that he could announce as much election—indeed, as the July 9 Turner election Sept. 4 as the date—Cahill's week-day began at 3 a.m.

Cahill thrives under pressure. He wrote *The Maturango Disaster*—the story about the 1979 derailment of the California-carrying train in Maturango, Calif., which caused the evacuation of 230,000 people—in just three weeks. "The difference between that and the Turner book is the difference between a sprint and the 800-m race," said Cahill, a two-finger typist who wrote Turner, a manuscript more substantial work of reporting and writing, in 14 weeks. By sticking to a strict regimen of researching and writing 2,000 words a day, he finished on July 3, two weeks ahead of schedule. That gave M&S seven weeks to manufacture the book—a process that usually takes from three to six months.

Pressure at the publishing house became intense. The staff worked on a carefully mapped out, hour-by-hour schedule. Then, as the bells began to toll, as the publishing house began to schedule an increasing preference by the Canadian voters for the Conservatives, the publishers had to reevaluate their second printing run. While they will not disclose exact figures, M&S chairman Jack McClelland told *Maclean's* "I believe there has been a repudiation. Cahill's book will die after the election if Turner loses. It's a very good book, but that's life."

M&S had also hoped to release *Maloney*, by Montreal Gazette columnist Ian Macdonald, before the election. Publisher and writer considered each other as adversaries that had a rivalry. Said McClelland: "Macdonald is late, and I am sick about it. My impression is that Macdonald didn't take our pressure seriously." Replied Macdonald: "I was not going to do a column book. I have 100 interviews, but I have only written 30 of 21 chapters. All that is left is the final wrap up of the election. The timing couldn't be better."

Whatever the gambles of its editors or writers, M&S should at least break even. Indeed, said McClelland, "We'll be making all the money this year." Maloney won't. But, said McClelland, in the publisher's calculations is any reaction of the New Democratic Party. The possibility of a minority government with the six holding the balance of power has not so far inspired the Conservative publisher to commission any start work on Ed Broadbent. Men of the House.



Lithgow, pseudo-Zen, sticking tongue as inadvertently into too many cheeks.

## FILMS

# Scattergun space cadets

THE ADVENTURES OF BACKBORN BANZAI ACROSS THE 8TH DIMENSION  
Directed by W.D. Richter

With its bizarre opening sequence, *The Adventures of Backborn Banzai* promises to deliver back comedy at its best. In a steady stream of a better sense of Japanese and American scientists in working far superhero Backborn Banzai (Peter Welton). His mission is to test-drive a truck equipped with an "overthruster" that will enable it to plunge unharmed through a mountain. But Banzai, the world's top over-engineer, who also leads a rock band and studies the martial arts and particle physics, has been delayed in an operating room. After he and his assistant, Dr. Zombel (Jeff Goldblum), finish working on a patient's brain, "Don't juggle that vein," Banzai whispers—the lens asks Zombel to join his band.

Compared to the rest of *Backborn*, the beginning is simplicity itself. The tangled plot, obscured by wackiness, then turns to the Planet 8th village. Backborn Banzai and his crew take over the Earth. Apparently, the *Lectrodes* first landing on Earth in 1938 prompted Orion Willes's radio show about an alien invader, the joke in *Backborn* is that the *Lectrodes* then hypnotized Willes into falsely confirming that the broadcast was a prank. That kind of cleverness, tossed off but never developed, typifies the scattergun approach

The mystique of scientific research and high-tech is fertile ground for satire. But *Backborn* sticks its tongue in sci-fi science into too many cheeks and degenerates into comic-strip cliché, from Banzai's black-and-white march to a mad scientist—spoofed to musical score by John Ludwig. In attempting to please everybody, *Backborn* runs the risk of satisfying only child science writers, cinema buffs and comic addicts.

Still, the movie breaks new ground with an extraordinary blend of high-tech technology and low-life biology. The space vehicle back looks like the scariest tank standstill, defying all common-sense laws with their encrusted tentacles. The *Lectrodes*, deeded out in later models that transform them into orange frogs, lounge around rusting bioforms reeling Backborn Banzai comets and snuffing snakes.

*Backborn* may not elevate satire to high art, but its hard-core creators clearly have other plans in mind—profitable laughs. Hating caricatured their supply of pseudo-Zen philosophies—"No matter where you go, there you are"—Banzai and his crew march off into the credits, which also certify the audience of their next cinematic adventure. If the producers can sell 12 more may spinoffs, they will have the last laugh with a sponsored product revived. The *Backborn* Adventures of Planet Gordon, viewers may never know the difference.

—MARK CHAMBERS

# Anchored in a surreal sea

AND THE SHIP SAILS ON  
Directed by Federico Fellini

The first sea-tanned images of Federico Fellini's *And the Ship Sails On* hold out tantalizing promise. It is 1994, and some passengers are about to embark upon the Glara N. to scatter the ashes of a deceased opera singer in the Adriatic. When a photographer tries to record the event for posterity, artists and dockworkers get in the way of his camera and threaten to spoil the festivities. But there is such a prevailing mood of fun and importance that it does not matter. As the colorful collection of passengers slowly sounds the complex, natural colors begin to bleed into the image on the screen. A more jarring opening for a film would have been indeed.

But a great beginning cannot guarantee success for a whole movie. As in other Fellini films (*Satyricon*, *Cannibals*), the setting of sea, ship and ship are deliberately false. They are also acceptable, until Fellini empties his bag of satirical and theatrical tricks. The fans, rivals, Austro-Hungarian royalty, a human cargo. A journalist (Freddy Jones) interrupts the scene intermittently, speaking directly to the camera to remind the audience with jumpy bits of gossip. The distancing effect that results, added to the fake backdrops, weakens the film's believability. Before the film is two-thirds over, the ship has become stranded.

Still, *And the Ship Sails On* does serve up some incidental pleasures at its expense, including one memorable outing scene. Backborn Banzai's face and innocent blue eyes belong to a little boy whose body has grown mysteriously old. A master of the double take, he can bring down the house with a glance, as when he discovers his wife, Didi (Didi Feller), almost randomly painting a placid art in his

While such scenes add dashes of grace to the movie, they do not make it great. To give it more believability, Fellini belatedly introduces a group of Sorbians, whom the captain rescues after finding them adrift. The assassination of Archbishop Fordinand at Sarajevo has just occurred, the First World War is hours away, and the Sorbians are presented as an international incident. Unfortunately, their presence also overlooks the film and turns it into a maddening obvious political statement. By the end, the focus of Fellini's oddball characters has been from comic opera, and the audience is left with a surreal scene in a painted ship sailing into oblivion.

—LAWRENCE O'BRIEN



Wilder, over the poignancy of human frailty in pursuit of sexual Nirvana

# The tale of a fool for love

THE WOMAN IN RED  
Directed by Greer Wilder

The woman in red makes delightful, if not entirely original, fun out of sexual infidelity. An American remake of the popular French comedy *Parlez-moi d'Amour*, *Woman in Red* stars the multi-talented Greer Wilder as Teddy Pines, a San Francisco man who falls in love with an extremely beautiful model named Charlotte (Kelly LeBrock). Naturally a steady family man, Teddy turns clown as he chases Charlotte through a series of hilarious misunderstandings and psychological pitfalls. But his clumsy pursuit at several times nearly seems to end in a comedy that the film portrays as obsessed with infidelity.

*Woman in Red* really begins when Wilder makes such an unlikely choice. His beloved woman's face and innocent blue eyes belong to a little boy whose body has grown mysteriously old. A master of the double take, he can bring down the house with a glance, as when he discovers his wife, Didi (Didi Feller), almost randomly painting a placid art in his

girl while he arranges a date with Charlotte on the phone. When Charlotte accidentally hears his wife's name and asks "What's that?" his systematic response seems to go on for eternity. At such moments *Woman in Red* directed—deliciously human frailty with a poignancy that elevates it well above the run of bedroom farces.

The actor's inspired burlesque receives strong support from Gloria Reider, as the barely secretary who goes unthinkingly to pieces when she mistakes when Teddy is also in love with her. But whenever LeBrock is no match for the comic talent around her, an international modeling star, she possesses the kind of full-on-headed beauty that sends her walking into lamp posts, but her stiffness renders most of her confrontations with Wilder funny and embarrassing. However, that loss it should be LeBrock is not playing a human being, just the eternal Aphrodite in the heart of Everyman. Teddy may make a fool of himself chasing her, but audiences will laugh throughout. *Woman in Red* because they, too, will find her almost irresistible.

—JAMES BOND

## MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction	Nonfiction
1 First Among Equals, Andrew (1)	1 In God's Name, Italy (1)
2 The Rag Trade (1)	2 Testimony, James (1)
3 The Aggressive Pragmatism, London (1)	3 Red in the Face, Peter (1)
4 And Ladies of the Club, Australia (1)	4 Sex and Society, Greer (1)
5 Fall Cards, Steve (1)	5 Worst of the Short List and First Times of John Edwards, London (1)
6 Lincoln, Peter (1)	6 The Kennedy, Cather & Ford (1)
7 Streets of Rome, America (1)	7 The Long Road Home, Cather (1)
8 The Wishes of Blackrock, Lydia (1)	8 Blood Vortex, Greer (1)
9 The Village Doctor, Cather (1)	9 The March of Folly, Tuckman (1)
10 The Wheel of Fortune, America (1)	10 Some Sweet Home, Andrew (1)

(1) Figures but week

# The underdog in waiting

By Allan Fotheringham

The problem with John Turner is that he is really in yesterday's man, which means he retains yesterday's virtues. He was brought up in a very formal manner by a strong mother who insisted on some things that seem rather outmoded in today's politics: a strict sense of manners, a sense that one does not behave in public that betrays his private way of behaving, and that there is a public way. It's why a pumiled and proud man waited a whole month—too late—for his belated apology to the around femininity of the land for his playful bantering. When he grew up that popular, jocular activity was okay, was acceptable, and just as his weaknesses have remained unchanged over the years as the world changed, so have his virtues.

It's why, the election for all intents and purposes lost, he still cannot obey the pleadings of his handlers and manipulators to turn himself into a man and really run on the attack, playing the down and dirty in the final dying days to stab Brian Mulroney in the soft underbelly. With his only chance in the National Action Committee on the Status of Women's televised debate to come out of the chute flying at Mulroney's credibility, he played the complete gentleman to the end, coming out only in the final minutes with a faded survey supposedly showing how Menardieral were the Conservatives under Joe Clark. He'd been too long at Oxford, he still bears the traces of those who believe that gentleness are the strongest and the highest and most commendable order by the rules down as they were required to at Lord's cricket ground.

The next morning the Turner cavalcade, straggly, is late leaving the Inn on the Park for a date in Ottawa. It is a late start, 11 a.m. The sevens, days and hours blasted out in their electric blue, bury themselves in the newspapers, like commentators on the London tube, as the buses roll down the Mt. The destination is the General W. Skikanda Police Weyburn Hall, the site a month earlier at Ed

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Section News*.

Broadbent's seat, the NDP leader supposedly so busy afraid that he may be vulnerable at home. A lone woman at the piano onstage plays the world's most common chord now. When the *Shenandoah* is over, the expert crowd of some 600 waits in a cavernous, their tables sporting screw-top bottles of wine and three-inch-high squares of cake.

Turner is introduced by one of his favorite ministers, Ed Leamy, who decries the Tories for being "doom experts" and says his leader is "the most honest person I have ever met." The local candidate is Terry Kelly, a history



lawyer who is an independent community worker in sport and charity. He is short, white-haired and furred and looks exactly like the Mickey Rooney playing a scared politician in *Super Heroes*. The Prime Minister, who seems these days not so much a Prime Minister but an underdog trying for office, refuses to take from yesterday—how he and his dog Bar used to meet *Mickie King* and his dog Pat on evening walks in Ottawa. He seems almost wretched. Then comes heavy story of King and Chubby Peeters visiting a military cemetery in Quebec City whose the inevitable relative had been voting for many elections. "I'm," murmurs a transphobic reporter, "but there is no military cemetery in Quebec City." His press entourage is now external in waiting for more balls. Like Rodney Dangerfield, the glum boy of several months ago now don't get so upset.

Turner, nerves on with sermon of "weak liquidity and cash flows" when he suddenly catches fire. The starling press

table sits up when he shouts, "I've got lots of faults. I've got lots of weaknesses. But I believe I have been honest. I believe I can be trusted." It is the boy who has been brought up by his widowed mother to be all these things, who has been taught to never talk about these things but now is giving in to his strategic's sayings to hammer at Mulroney's credibility. It is almost pleading, almost begging John Turner the lifetime winner now stoned that he is appealing a loss. The hall leaps to a standing ovation. His senior aide Mike Hunter turns and punches a minor Turner worker as glad that at last they have selected the person they now always wanted and looked within. The Man from Glad, Turner is now on the attack, slinking the Tories, roaring most everyone to wonder why he didn't start this way a month ago.

The inexpressible Turner itinerarily takes at back to Toronto and, on the plane to Windsor, he seems happy and buoyed by the speech in some 20 years of knowing Turner (his reporter has never seen him down. Has anyone? It's why, one suspects, the public did not warm to the soldier boy who seemed slightly too perfect and too perfect to believe). The inexpressible Turner appears most appealing of all. At Leamington, Ont., "the last stop capital of the world" in the rich market garden market outside Windsor, he is as dreadful as he was threatening in Ottawa. Trying to see the seat of the departed Rogers Whelan, our new photographer in Rome, his jacket and tie off, his silver cuff-links come so off of spine with a country fair 58 years old, his partial attempt to relate to farm people coming out as an animal that he is in favor of food. It is a griffly seal crowd, the women putting dried kernels of corn on their huge cards, ignoring him. The milk doesn't work. In Windsor, patting by his strategists to repeat his little boy last theme, he tries but his heart isn't in it. His breeding and reserve take over. One does not talk about one's own virtues. Brian Mulroney in a born politician who has been practicing virtues over since his teen John Turner is a Toronto celebrity trying to persuade the adults of a trade he has forgotten. All the get instructions have been shouted out of him.



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